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RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

AND

THE WORLD-RELIGION.

An Introduction to their Scientific Study.

BY
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WILLIAM F. WARREN.

BOSTON:

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE SUBJECT-MATTER OF THE STUDY.

THE world is full of phenomena which men call religious. They are partly subjective and partly objective. They include personal beliefs, emotions, acts; social customs, institutions, rites. They are at least as old as recorded history, as universal as the sense of moral obligation. Of all elements of human experience they are the deepest and the highest, the most interesting, the most sacred. As such they claim the studious attention of all thoughtful persons, whether they hold to one religion or to another, or to none.

To define religious phenomena more narrowly we must define religion. This in its highest sense is the normal bearing of men, in and toward God, the ground of all finite existence. In an empirical and wider sense it includes all actual or historic endeavors after such a bearing, however far short of the ideal they may have come. It is in this wider sense that the term must ordinarily be used in the present course. Accordingly, the phenomena of religion must be understood to include all manifestations of man's religious nature, however high and however low. Wherever there is an attempted personal bearing over against what is believed to be divine, there some of the phenomena of religion will be found.

Surveying more closely the religious phenomena of the world as thus defined, we shall quickly discover that they are not unrelated and connectionless, a mere chaos of isolated facts, unorganized and unorganizable. On the contrary, they tend to group, and do group themselves into distinct systems of religious belief and life. So far as these are systems of belief

merely, they constitute what may be called theoretical or speculative systems; so far, on the other hand, as they are systems of tribal, or national, or voluntarily associated life, they may be styled historic or concrete.

The chief of the former or speculative class are Monotheism, Dualism, Polytheism, Atheism, and Pantheism.

The chief of the historic or concrete systems now existing in the world are:

I. The religions of the barbaric tribes and peoples.

II. The religions of the more important of the partly civilized nations; such as the Chinese, Japanese, Hindus, Thibetans, Burmese, and Siamese. Here are found Confucianism, Shintoism, Hinduism, and Buddhism in its various national and sectarian forms.

III. That rightly named World-religion, which beginning with man's beginning, and unfolding as the divine purposes successively unfold, reaches its first culmination and interpretation in the theanthropic person and teachings and world-redeeming work of Jesus Christ. This is the religion of the most highly civilized peoples of the globe. Of this world-old World-religion modern Judaism is simply the survival of an outgrown form, Islamism an abnormal reversionary variation due to inadequate instruction and leadership at the time when the gospel first reached Arabia.

The question, Whence these precise religions, and the successive forms through which they have passed, deserves attention. The problem is a profound one, for the forces by whose action and interaction particular religious systems are produced, maintained and perpetually modified, are among the most subtle and complex known to human investigation.

Five fundamental facts, however, go far towards explaining in a general way the origin and the successive modifications of all particular religions.

First. Men universally and it would seem instinctively manifest a religious activity of some kind.

Second. Under the partly conscious, partly unconscious influence of reason, this religious activity ever tends to come into some degree of conformity with a strictly consistent life-theory

and world-theory of some sort, — it may be monotheistic, dualistic, polytheistic, pantheistic, or even atheistic. Hence arise speculative or abstract religious systems corresponding to these various conceptions of man and of the universe.

Third. Like other universal activities the religious is affected by social influences. Of necessity it enters into the social life of bodies of men, constitutes a factor in the development of that life, conditions in great measure its quality and is in turn conditioned by it. Hence originate concrete or historic systems of religion, reflecting and in some measure determining the genius of a particular people or of a particular religious society.

Fourth. The inter-relation between the life and the religion of a man, or of an aggregate of men, is so intricate and vital that the religion cannot be changed without changing the life, nor on the other hand, can the life be changed without changing the religion. Hence all profound changes in the pursuits, tastes, or states of culture of a people are preceded, accompanied, or followed by noteworthy modifications, if not by real transformations, of religious belief and life.

Fifth. The theistic world-view cannot maintain itself, or even complete itself, without postulating on the part of the World-Author and World-Administrator a self-revealing and self-communicating activity, world-wide and world-old, like that historically exemplified in the World-religion. In the view of every true theist, therefore, *this divine activity is the most fundamental and significant factor in every religion, as manifest in the decay and fall of systems as in their rise and growth.* Man's search after God is but the consequence of God's antecedent and incessant quest of man.

In concluding this preliminary glance at the subject-matter of our study, it is well to remind ourselves of the immense number and variety of facts and principles included therein. They are found not in one department of human life merely, but in all. Illustrations of the power and influence of religion in the domestic sphere could be drawn from the history of every people. So, also, from social and civil life; from the realm of education; from the domain of art; from the field of literature and from the great world of popular customs. With such matter volumes

upon volumes could be filled. Traverse whatever department of thought and action we will, we encounter the manifest and multifiform phenomena of religion. Whatever religion itself may be, something natural or supernatural; a dream, or a reality; a lunacy, or a sanity, — its universal presence and power in humanity and in humanity's history compel attention, and demand investigation according to the strictest and most thorough methods of scientific study.

CHAPTER II.

THE ADMISSIBILITY OF THE SCIENTIFIC TREATMENT OF THE RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA OF THE WORLD.

THE practicability and propriety of investigating and setting forth the religious phenomena of the world in accordance with what is called the scientific method would at first thought seem to be as much beyond question as the like procedure in the case of any phenomena of a mental, social, or ethical character. But since the admissibility of the application of the scientific method to religion has been repeatedly and earnestly challenged, and this from very different points of view, it becomes necessary here at the very threshold of the study to examine and test the objections urged. But, first, what is meant by the term, the scientific method?

As here used it designates and includes :

First, That procedure by which the mind carefully, critically and repeatedly observes a group of phenomena, and so comes to know their exact character and normal order of succession.

Second, That procedure by which the mind reaches verifiable or otherwise rationally satisfactory conclusions touching the cause or causes of said phenomena, the conditions under which, and the laws according to which, these causes act.

Third, That procedure by which the mind reaches verifiable or otherwise rationally satisfactory conclusions touching the connections and correlations of these phenomena with others,

and of their causes with other causes, and the true purpose and significance of said correlations.

It has often been said that the scientific method has no presuppositions. How untrue is this declaration, the most superficial glance at any adequate definition of it suffices to show. Even in the hands of a materialist the scientific method rests upon at least three immense postulates: *First*, The absolute validity of the normal processes of human intelligence. *Second*, The absolute and unvarying constancy of natural law. *Third*, The rationality of the universe of being and of its workings as a whole. Deprive him of any one of these fundamental assumptions and at once any and every employment of the scientific method becomes impossible.

Such being the nature and the presuppositions of this method in all its applications, it is evident that objections to its application to religion might antecedently be expected from several parties :

First. From all those who question the validity of human knowledge in general. In other words the skeptical school of philosophy properly so called (Pyrrhonists).

Second. From those who admitting the validity of all knowledge acquired by sense-perception, question or deny the possibility of any valid knowledge of the supersensuous.

Third. From all those who, admitting the possibility of a valid knowledge of supersensuous objects and realities in the sphere of the finite, — as, for example, in human consciousness, — question or deny the possibility of any valid knowledge of that unconditioned presupposition, ground, and unity demanded by the finite for its own explanation.

To all of the above classes of objectors it is proper and sufficient to say, that their quarrel is with the scientific method itself, or with its first assumption, — not with the application of it to religious phenomena as such.

But beyond the above mentioned objectors stand two other classes of persons who question or deny the admissibility of a scientific treatment of religion.

The first do this on the ground that in its essential nature religion transcends knowledge. It is an experience which in

strictest literalness passeth all understanding. In its full and normal actualization it so fills and dominates the whole consciousness of its subject that the observant and critical and ratiocinative activities and attitudes of the mind are necessarily and entirely excluded. The moment the soul attempts the scientific explanation of its religious experiences, those experiences are already of necessity at an end, and there is nothing left for observation. The most consistent and thoroughgoing representatives of this view maintain that the idea of God is innate, that in the intuitional faculties we possess an organ for immediate and conscious fellowship with God, and that the exercise of reason, using this term as a designation of the discursive faculty, instead of helping us toward a knowledge of God and the true life in Him, only hinders and distracts.

The second class hold that normal religion necessarily presupposes a supernatural and personal communication of the mind and will of Him who is the true object of religious thought and worship, in other words, an authoritative didactic revelation from God. They affirm that no study of the religious phenomena of the world, or of the phenomena of nature, could ever give us information as to God's nature, or character, or purposes concerning us, or as to our duties toward Him. To supply this lack of light He has made and duly authenticated a plain revelation upon all these subjects; and possessing this, every attempt on our part to seek religious knowledge apart from it, or to adjust its teachings to those of fallible human reason, or even to support its doctrines by deductions from religions which it disowns and condemns, is at once an impertinence and a folly. To these persons the only legitimate use of reason in religion is reverently and unquestioningly to accept the *prima facie* teaching of the authoritative Didactic Revelation.

To both classes it might be replied, that granting their respective tenets, or either one of them, we have already therein a most important and fundamental contribution to a philosophy of religion, and that every philosophy of religion necessarily presupposes and rests upon a scientific study of the phenomena of religion. Indeed, without such a study, and a logical use of the results of such a study, neither the mystic can show the

transcendence of religion in its relation to knowledge, nor the revelationist the existence and exclusive claims of his revelation. The characteristic view of each is, therefore, inconsistent with itself and self-destructive.

Again, to both of these parties it may be replied, that they misapprehend and misrepresent the scientific method and its assumptions. Both treat the question as if in the application of this method to the phenomena of religion there was no place for the exercise of any faculty other than the logical understanding. Especially does the mystic forget that that transcendent consciousness of divine communion which he so exalts, is itself a mode of knowing as truly as of feeling, and in fact, according to his own principles, the highest, most immediate and perfect of all modes. In like manner the stickler for revelation forgets that no object or being is capable of being known save as it reveals or self-manifests itself to the cognizing subject ; so that this necessity for self-manifestation is no more predicable of God than it is of man, or of those objects of which natural science treats. Both, therefore, misapprehend or ignore one or more of the primary postulates of the scientific method itself.

Finally, it may be remarked, that both parties mistake the true force and significance of the very considerations which they urge against the application of the scientific method to religious phenomena. These considerations, instead of producing in us a despair of attaining true conceptions of religion and of its psychological and social laws and relations, ought only to remind us of the transcendent excellence and compass of that knowledge to whose acquisition we are summoned, and of the encouragement we ought to find in the essentially self-manifestive character of its Object. If beyond this they remind us of the disproportion of our present powers to such high tasks as those here contemplated, we may well reassure ourselves with the thought that all human science has its bounds and limitations, and that in the field of religious investigation, if anywhere, human infirmity may hope for divine guidance and help toward the truth.

CHAPTER III.

THE THREE PROCEDURES AND THE RESULTING GROUPS OF SCIENCES.

IN the scientific treatment of the religious phenomena of the world the three essential modes of procedure are: *first*, the Historic; *second*, the Systematic; and *third*, the Philosophic.

Whoever pursues the first undertakes to set forth the genetic or chronological order of these phenomena in the origin and development of particular religious systems and movements, or in the history of religion universally considered. Whoever pursues the second undertakes to set forth religious phenomena in their logical relations as constituent and contemporary elements of systems more or less inclusive. Whoever pursues the third undertakes from a careful study of the facts of religion and of its history to ascertain and to set forth the essential nature of religion, its origin, its psychological and other presuppositions, the laws of its individual and social development, its subjective and objective validity.

The man who adopts the historic procedure may limit himself to single religions; or he may trace comparatively or otherwise the rise and history of developments common to a group of religions; or finally, he may seek to include the whole field. In the first case, he elaborates histories of single religions; in the second, comparative or other histories of wider religious movements or of peculiarities of such movements; in the third, a universal history of religion.

In like manner the man who adopts the systematic procedure may undertake to deal with the phenomena presented by a single religious system; or with those pertaining to a class of religions; or, finally, with those which are common to all. In the first case, he gives us a systematic exposition of a particular religion; in the second, a comparative theology of the chosen group; in the third, a universal theology, a science of religion universally considered.

All sciences, therefore, which relate to the phenomena of religion may be classified as follows :

- I. The Historic Group.
 1. Histories of particular Religions.
 2. Comparative Histories of wider religious movements, or of special features common to a class of religions.
 3. The Universal History of Religion, or the History of Religion universally considered.
- II. The Systematic Group.
 1. Particular Theologies. E. g., Christian, Mohammedan, etc., etc.
 2. Comparative Theologies. E. g., The Comparative Theology of the Indo-German Group of Religions.
 3. Universal Theology, or the systematic exposition of religion universally considered.
- III. The Philosophical Group.
 1. The Philosophy of the Object of Religion.
 2. The Philosophy of the Subject of Religion.
 3. The Philosophy of the past, present, and future Interrelations of the Subject and Object of Religion.

From the foregoing conspectus, it is evident that the term, the "Science of Religion," can no longer be used without great vagueness and ambiguity. Once investigators thought to construct a "Science of Life," but before they had completed a preliminary survey of the data, they found they had built up the whole hierarchy of what are now called the biological sciences. So half a thousand years ago there was a body of systematized facts and truths that might well enough have been styled the Science of Christianity; since that time, however, the progress of scholarship has substituted for that one unitary presentation about a score of recognized theological sciences, each highly organized and reasonably comprehensive. In like manner the so-called Science of Religion is fast giving place, not merely to a group of new religious sciences, but even to a group made up of sub-groups, as just shown. Indeed, the term, the Science of Religion, as used since its introduction some years ago, has never been quite free from ambiguity. Some-

times it has sharply excluded almost everything pertaining to the philosophy of religion, while in other cases it has been used as wholly inclusive of that department of the study. German writers have done no better. *Religionswissenschaft* (the Science of Religion), and *Religionsphilosophie* (the Philosophy of Religion), have been alternately differentiated and alternately interchanged, until no reader feels the least assurance of the meaning in a given case until he examines the context. Even *Religionsgeschichte* (the History of Religion) is so vaguely used that the translator of De la Saussaye's "Manual of the History of Religion" gives as the English equivalent, "Science of Religion." Neither title well fits the contents of the book, but, as between the two, that chosen by the author would seem the more appropriate. Following such examples, Professor Menzies not only uses the term, History of Religion, as synonymous with Science of Religion, but even seems to defend such a confusing usage. (History of Religion, Lond. and N. Y., 1895, pp. 2, 3.)

The above grouping of the new sciences now rapidly coming to recognition, further shows the infelicitous character of another term often applied to this field of study, to wit, "Comparative Religion," or, worse yet, "Comparative Religions." This originated by contraction from the phrase, the Comparative Study of Religions. But the proper and recognized name for the organized scientific results obtained by the comparative study of religions is Comparative Theology. This is a well-defined, and, for its proper purpose, very convenient term. Comparative Religion is not. There is such a thing as a comparative study of languages, but to call the thence resulting science, "Comparative Language," would be to suggest to the uninitiated that the thing spoken of was a subordinate section of Rhetoric, and that the next ensuing section would treat of "Superlative Language." Comparative Philology is not likely to be superseded by any such ambiguous and indefinable term as Comparative Language, and there is even less propriety in designating the total historic, systematic and philosophic study of religious phenomena by a term wellnigh inconceivable in any literal signification, partial in scope, and misleading in its one methodological connotation.

CHAPTER IV.

SOURCES FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF THE RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA OF THE WORLD.

THE Sources from which the student of religions chiefly draws his information may be divided into two general classes :

I. The Proximate.

II. The Remoter.

The former consists mainly of the treatises which authors more or less competent have written in elucidation of the different religions and of their history. Of the latter, the following are more important :

1. The epigraphical and monumental.

2. The hagiographical, or that found in the sacred books of different religions.

3. The legendary and mythological.

4. The incidental or collateral.

In many cases several or all of these sources are available. Thus, for example, if we wish to investigate the Egyptian conception of a future life, we have (1) monumental inscriptions and mural decorations which illustrate it. We have (2) in the Funereal Ritual, or so-called Book of the Dead, an extremely valuable hagiographical source of information. Then (3) there are important myths and legends to be examined ; and (4) as incidental or collateral sources, the statements of early Greek travelers who visited the country, etc., etc.

On the other hand, in many cases we are shut up to a single source, and often to one the least definite and trustworthy of all. Thus, for example, if our problem were to ascertain what views of the future life were held by the ancient Massagetæ, we should be restricted to the fourth variety of remoter sources, if indeed we could find any whatsoever.

All these sources must be used with the utmost care if one would not be led astray. Where more than one is available, the yield of each should be supplemented, corrected, or con-

firmed, as the case may be, by the yield of each of the others. In this task, unwearying patience, rare historic insight, and the utmost breadth of scholarship are exigently demanded.

Especially difficult is the utilizing of the mythological sources. For while some myths embody historic facts in forms not too poetical to be beyond trustworthy interpretation, these constitute but the smallest fraction of the mass which must be studied. In this mass are the innumerable myths of mere spontaneous story-telling; those of an imaginative etymology; those of a fanciful natural philosophy and natural history; those of a more or less conscious didactic aim; those of a distinctly conscious affectation of archaic ideas and modes of expression. To detect the exact character of each, or even its exact value or its valuelessness to the student of religions, is one of the most arduous if not the most hopeless of tasks.

Both of the above-named general classes of sources are constantly becoming richer and more copious. The progress of archæological exploration in ancient seats of civilization; the advance of general and special ethnography; the constantly increasing attention to Oriental and other literatures and to comparative folk-lore, are steadily enlarging and otherwise improving each variety of the remoter sources; while living writers availing themselves of this new knowledge are producing more and more trustworthy treatises entitled to rank as enlargements and improvements of those sources of our study which we have styled the proximate.

CHAPTER V.

PERSONAL EQUIPMENT FOR THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

IN order that a student of the world's religions may be qualified to use with any freedom and thoroughness even those sources which in the last chapter we styled proximate, it is indispensable that he have a good working knowledge of at least five languages: the Greek, Latin, German, French, and English. The literatures of all these languages should be readily acces-

sible for each and every investigation he may have occasion to make.

For the full utilizing of the remoter sources no human knowledge is superfluous. The requisites here are so vast that no one man can dream of acquiring them all. In some of these investigations the key to a right solution of the problem is as likely as not to be found only in some quite out-of-the-way field of knowledge, such as ancient heraldry, astrology, alchemy, metrology. Lenormant made his rare knowledge and skill in numismatics of great service to the study of religion. In the study of ancient mythologies, a knowledge of seals, intaglios, and cameos is of great importance; in fine, the full employment of our sources calls for the patient co-operation of vast numbers of specialists in every department of learning. Even with this co-operation, the time can never come when we can be confident that the monuments, and traditions, and languages of antiquity have no new secret to yield up to skilful investigation.

If these remarks be true it is plain that there can be no exact enumeration of the particular sciences which are, or which may be preliminary to the study of religions.

CHAPTER VI.

AUXILIARY SCIENCES.

MUCH the same must be said of any attempt to name the sciences properly auxiliary to our study. There is no science which in one way or another is not tributary and helpful to this line of investigation. As there is nothing in the universe which does not come within the circle of religious ideas and interests, there can be no body of scientific truths destitute of significance for the study of religions. If, however, one inquires for a list of those sciences from whose progress our study in its present state has most to hope, at least, the following would have to be included :

- I. General Anthropology and Ethnology.
- II. Psychology, Personal and Ethnic (*Völkerpsychologie*).

- III. The Science of Language, and Comparative Philology.
- IV. The History of Human Culture, and the Comparative Study of Civilizations.
- V. Moral Philosophy, and Comparative Ethics.
- VI. Political Philosophy, and Comparative Jurisprudence.
- VII. Esthetics, and the Comparative History of Art.
- VIII. Universal History and the Philosophy of History.
- IX. Geography of Races, Civilizations and Religions.
- X. General Sociology.

The relations which these various branches sustain to each other, and the exact ground which each should cover, are not as yet in all cases well defined; but the progress of any one of them, however defined, is helpful to the Study of Religions.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ATTRACTIVENESS, THE UTILITY, AND THE PERILS OF THE STUDY OF RELIGIONS.

To the thoughtful mind whatever is human has imperishable interest and attraction. Be it but a bit of drifting folk-lore, be it but a barbarous rite, be it a peculiarity of speech, of government or of social organization, be it an achievement, an aspiration, a tradition, a myth, a parable, a discovery, an invention; be it barely a fossil relic of some far-off geologic period, — if it is only human, it is at once invested with a fascination altogether unlike that attaching to anything not expressive of personal life. But of all human aspirations the religious is the highest; of all human traditions those of religion are the oldest; of all human institutions those of religion are the most vital; of all human aims and achievements in art, in literature, in music, in education those of religion are the divinest. In the study of religion, therefore, the charm which the human has for the humanist and for humanity is at its maximum.

But beyond and above the human lies the superhuman. And it is to the realm of the superhuman; to the heavens and hells of humanity; to the worlds invisible and worlds yet to come; to

orders of beings immaterial; to disembodied spirits, angels, archangels, rulers of celestial spheres, divinities in human and other forms, demigods, to the Supreme and Eternal One, who alone can say, "I am and by me all subsists," — it is to this realm that the study of religions introduces us. Hence, as long as the hidden future either attracts or terrifies men, as long as the mystery of the unseen piques the curiosity of human questioners, as long as the superhuman origin, ground and destination of the world and of humanity have fascination for human thought, so long must the study of the phenomena of religion have fascinating interest for men.

Again, at the present time the study has the charm of wonderful freshness and novelty. In our generation a greater progress has been made in this field of investigation than in any preceding one. The vast literatures of the great ethnic religions of Asia are for the first time undergoing exploration. The unearthed cities and shrines of ancient empires are daily yielding precious secrets. Through the gates of unlocked hieroglyphics we are conducted into ancient worlds and civilizations whose very memory had perished. Meantime the pioneers of the Christian missions and of commerce are penetrating into the inmost recesses of the last retreats of barbarism, and disclosing for comparative study the superstitions and the customs and the cults of those respecting whom recorded history could give us no knowledge. Till now the materials for an all-comprehending and therefore truly scientific study of religion have been lacking. Even at present its vast sources are but just opened. All the greater, of course, are the zeal, the enthusiasm, the success of the workers who are constantly bringing new materials to light. All the greater, too, is the zest with which constructive scholarship is giving itself to the task of mastering the vast results of individual specialists in archæology, philology, ethnology, etc., and of organizing them into the new special, comparative and universal sciences of religion, which as yet have scarcely been named and defined.

Of the utility of the study of one's own religion, whichever it may be, it is not necessary to speak. Every intelligent and thoughtful man feels it to be of practical importance to know the

truth respecting the origin and history of the religious community with which by birth or public profession he is associated. Without intelligent personal convictions respecting the propriety of the claims which his religion makes upon him, he cannot satisfactorily meet those claims. But without a study of the system, and of the duties which it inculcates, and of the grounds on which it bases those duties, he cannot have the requisite personal convictions. Hence, among every people and sect, a study of the inherited religion is esteemed essential to an intelligent and well-supported practice of the duties it inculcates.

As respects ourselves who are representatives of the World-religion in its Christian stage, the advantages accruing from the study of the non-Christian systems along with our own, and from the study of all religious phenomena historically, systematically and philosophically, are almost numberless. A few of the more obvious and direct are the following :

1. Such study must tend to guard one against that narrowness and uncharitableness of judgment, that caste-pride, and self-righteousness, into which all ignorant religionists are sure to fall.

2. More than almost any study, it must throw light upon the nature of man, upon his relation to other beings, upon the law and end and meaning of history, upon the relations of the finite to the infinite. In fine, there is scarcely a problem of anthropology, ethnology, sociology, cosmology, theology, or ontology, toward whose solution the thorough and scientific investigation of the religious phenomena of the world will not contribute.

3. The great literary and artistic creations of the world are so inseparably connected with religious ideas, inspirations and achievements, that, without familiarity with these, the Iliad and the Mahabharata, the Serapæum and the Parthenon, Apollo Belvedere, and the Oratorio of the Messiah, are entirely unintelligible. The study of religion and of its history is, therefore, a fundamental and essential element in any truly liberal and polite education.

4. If Christianity is mistaken and arrogant in its claims and expectations, if it is only one of many religions all of merely human origin, it surely is in the interest of truth and genuine

progress that this fact be shown. On the other hand, if Christianity furnishes the only key to human history and destiny, the sooner and the wider and the more convincingly this can be proven the better. But for the investigating and arguing of this question on either side a wide knowledge of the religions of the world and of their history has now become indispensable.

5. Finally, to those who, by settled convictions of its truth, and by public profession of its life, and by official authorization of its professors, are public expounders and teachers and defenders of Christianity, a wide and constantly increasing acquaintance with the religious phenomena of the world is of incalculable advantage; partly by affording a world of varied and apposite illustration such as a public teacher needs; partly by the new light which it sheds upon Bible history and Bible doctrine; partly by reason of the ability it gives to expose the ignorance of dabblers and babblers; and, finally, by reason of the fresh and ever more perfect insight which it gives into the essence of the true religion, and into the identity of ideal Christianity with ideal Religion.

But while so great utility must be claimed for our study, it cannot be denied that to the beginner it presents somewhat of peril. In every case, the student approaches the investigation with religious, if not also with speculative, and national, and racial prepossessions. So much more intimate and sympathetic has been his relation to one of the religions of the world than to the others that it becomes one of the most difficult of tasks for him, in studying other systems, to place himself in every case at the point of view of those who have been born and reared in them. And just in proportion to the difficulty of doing this, is there danger lest he do less than justice to the alien systems, even if he does not do more than justice to his own.

Again, every marked widening of intellectual vision caused by new knowledge necessitates new adjustments of knowledge to faith and faith to knowledge. And every attempt to effect a thus necessitated new adjustment, involves something of peril to the faith, whether that faith be true or false. In cases where it is false, the increase of knowledge must, slowly it may be, yet surely, destroy it. But even where faith is essentially true and

well founded, it may be sorely imperiled, and, in particular individuals, is doubtless often destroyed by the force of that natural reaction which the mind experiences on discovering the inadequacy of early and outgrown expressions of its faith. For example, when the Christian student comes for the first time to investigate, in a scientific spirit, the different religions of the world, to compare and contrast the Christian with other religious systems, to face, for the first time the impressive thought that even upon his own principles the providential government of the world must in some way have included and utilized all ethnic religions; that therefore, somehow, they must all have had a place and a significance in the divine plan, his mind is apt to experience a kind of bewilderment. The new horizon is so much broader than the accustomed one that he is in danger of entirely losing sight of the old and familiar landmarks. Upon a naturally narrow, conceited and ill-balanced mind, the effect, in many cases, is to induce a reactionary contempt for its earlier faith and a total rejection of the Christian world-view. Upon a broader, deeper and more penetrating intelligence the effect is quite the reverse. The height and depth, and length and breadth, of God's kingdom are seen in a light never dreamed of before. Now for the first time does Christianity become the true World-religion, the explanation of all history, the prophecy of a yet to be consummated ethnic and cosmic unity.

BOOK FIRST.

THE RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA OF THE WORLD HISTORICALLY
CONSIDERED.

INTRODUCTION.

DIVISION I. History of Particular Religions.

DIVISION II. History of Developments common to several
Particular Religions.

DIVISION III. History of Developments common to all Re-
ligions.

INTRODUCTION.

IN chapter third of the General Introduction we saw that the historic method of investigation and representation might be applied :

1. To particular religions, ethnic or other ; or
2. To historic features, tendencies or developments common to a class of religions ; or
3. To the religious life of mankind as a whole.

The first of these applications gives us the History of Religions individually considered. The second the History of Religions comparatively considered. The third the History of Religion universally considered, or in its crowning form the History of the World-religion.

In each of these lines of work we have as yet only tentative and unsatisfactory beginnings. In the opening section of his History of Religion (London and Boston, 1877), Professor Tiele has defined the first and last of the above applications, but somewhat strangely omitted any recognition of the second. Professor J. C. Moffat of Princeton, in his Comparative History of Religions (New York, 1871), nowhere defines what he conceives to be the proper aim or field of the branch of history whose name he employs. The work to which he applies it is a contribution, not so much to the Comparative History of Religions properly so called, as to the History of Religion universally considered. Even our latest so-styled "History of Religion," that by Professor Menzies, makes no distinction whatever between the historic, the systematic, and the philosophic procedures in this line of study.

Historical investigation can promise no useful result unless based upon a correct idea of history itself, and especially of its essential factors and laws. For example, if human freedom be a reality, human developments must be radically different from all developments below the human sphere. Each class must be interpreted in the light of that difference. Again, if super-

human or subhuman personalities exist, and have at any time, or in any place, or in any degree, affected human thought, or feeling, or action, these extra-human personalities constitute a factor in the development of the race, — a factor without reference to which the race's history can never be rightly conceived of or represented. One of the first and fundamental duties, therefore, of any author professing to set forth the history of a religion, or of a movement belonging to several religions, or of religion universally considered, is to define his standpoint with respect to man's freedom or unfreedom, and with respect to the adequacy or inadequacy of human agency taken alone to account for the phenomena reported. Furthermore, having clearly and frankly defined it, it is of course his duty to remain true to it throughout his entire construction and representation of the facts considered.

The scientific and philosophic vindication of the standpoint adopted by any historian of religion must be found, partly in the degree of perfection with which it corresponds to the facts in hand, and partly in its relation to the outcome of the Philosophy of Religion in general. So far as *a priori* considerations are concerned, if the materialist or agnostic claims that by the logical law of parsimony we are estopped from postulating superhuman factors in any domain of human history until it has been demonstrated beyond dispute that the human ones cannot possibly explain the facts, the theist, and even the pantheist, may, on the other hand, with equal propriety, affirm, that to approach the study of religions with an *a priori* denial of the existence and possible influence of superhuman beings is as unreasonable as it would be to approach the study of the flora of the earth with a sturdy determination not to admit of the existence and possible influence of superfloral light and air and floriculturists.

As all human history is a process of constructive or destructive development, the history of religions and of religion partakes of this character. However abrupt, radical and revolutionary some of the changes of the religious world may at first sight appear, there is never an entire break with the past. As the religious life of the man, the community, the race goes forward, new

factors are continually taking their places in it ; new social and spiritual and other environments are constantly coming to affect it ; yet it is the same man, the same people, the same race whose life is thus proceeding from phase to phase. In the subject of each religious development resides a continuity of being. In its life, as in all vital processes, the immediate past conditions the possibilities of the present ; the present, the possibilities of the immediate future.

In order rightly to conceive of any evolution, care must be taken to obtain a correct conception, first, of the Subject ; and, secondly, of the Environment.

This being the case, it is evident that in developments in any wise related to man, it is hardly possible to give too much attention to the element of personality in both subject and environment. The development of bodily strength and aptitude attained by the athlete can never be understood without particular attention to the personal purpose and personal resolution by which he has held himself to faithful and prolonged training. So the evolution of a thorn-bearing tree into a pear-bearing one requires, for its right understanding, a knowledge of the power of a skillful grafter ; in other words, requires that the influence of a personal, and *to it* supernatural environment, shall be taken into account. Hence, in studying a religious evolution, equal care must be taken, on the one hand, that the personal power of self-determination belonging to each man be not overlooked, and, on the other hand, that due account be taken of the influences that may come from the other personal powers, human or extra-human, which help to make up each man's environment.

In investigating and setting forth the history of religion universally considered, nothing can be more unscientific than to ignore the chronological order of the different particular religions as they were actually related to the life of the world, substituting therefor a purely arbitrary one, based upon supposed degrees of comparative simplicity, or comparative complexness, or like principles of classification. Tiele's arrangement of the different systems, according to which the student is introduced to the religion of the American Cherokees and Esquimaux before he is to the religions of ancient Chaldæa, Egypt or Phœnicia ;

and to German mythology before he is to the Greek, is a conspicuous example of the fault here alluded to. In the work of Professor Menzies, the order is open to the same criticism. Islam is presented before Christianity, and primitive Semitic religion long after the religion of the Assyrians.

The question as to the earliest form of religion is at the present day so complicated with other questions, that the proper place for its discussion is in the Philosophy of Religion, where in due time it will come before us. Suffice it here to say that, according to the oldest traditions of the oldest peoples, not less than according to the sacred records of the Hebrew, Mohammedan, and Christian world, mankind were in the beginning blessed with divine fellowship and favor, and only by sin fell a prey to demoniacal and destructive powers. The slowly proceeding self-revelation of sinful humanity over against the slowly proceeding self-revelation of humanity's loving and patient Creator, sufficiently explains the long and dark and even tragic history that ensued until the arrival of the all-interpreting Day of Pentecost. The considerations ordinarily adduced by naturalistic writers to disprove a primeval fall and consequent degeneracy of man and a loss of primeval religion, would equally disprove the fall of all the great empires and art schools of antiquity. They would render incredible even the teachings of geology touching the flora of the Tertiary age. The latest of these weak argumentations may be seen in Menzies' "History of Religion," p. 23. On the other side, see the closing chapters of "Paradise Found."

DIVISION FIRST.

THE HISTORY OF PARTICULAR RELIGIONS.

THE most natural order in which to treat of the history of the leading religions of the past and present is according to the three following groups:—

- I. The religions known to the Ancient World.
- II. Those known to the Mediæval World.

III. Those with which modern discovery and exploration have made us acquainted.

It is a special recommendation of this order that, better than any other, it enables the student fruitfully to combine the study of particular religions, and of groups of religions historically related, with the study of the history of religion universally considered. This will become more and more evident the farther the investigator advances. We may therefore proceed to the question, What are the important religions in each of these groups, and to what point has the scientific study of their history attained?

PART I. *History of the Principal Religions known to the Ancient World.*

Here belong: (1) The religion of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, including that of their Akkado-Sumirian or Proto-Chaldaeian predecessors. (2) The religion of the ancient Egyptians. (3) The religion of the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Canaanites and Pre-Islamic Arabians. (4) The religion of the ancient Persians and Medo-Persians. (5) The religion of the Pelasgians and Greeks. (6) The religion of the Etruscans and Romans. (7) The religion which, at the close of the period, vitally and permanently supplanted all the foregoing, to wit, the World-religion.

The foregoing include all the important religions which were known to the ancient world, and which, by their growths and decays, and by their mutual historic actions and reactions, made the ancient world religiously what it was. The religions of China and India are quite possibly as old as those of Greece and Rome, but not having come in any influential sense, if at all, to the knowledge of the vitally associated nations of the ancient world, they do not belong in our present group. Their history can best be studied in connection with the third period, — the period in which they first truly begin to bring their long accumulating contribution to universal history into effective relations with the total life of humanity.

The ethnic religions of the above group have this in common:

they are all styled polytheistic. In entering upon the study of polytheisms, however, two things should never be forgotten. *First*: A belief in the existence of such limited and originated beings as the so-called gods of the polytheist is not in the least incompatible with a genuine belief in an unlimited and unoriginated Being back of and anterior to all these, a "God of gods," as Plato says — the real and Eternal Source of gods and of men. Polytheism, therefore, and monotheism are no more mutually exclusive at bottom than are monotheism and a belief in archangels. In fact, the most elaborate system of totemism is compatible with a fundamentally monotheistic belief whenever — as is usually the case — the totemistic tribe conceives of its ancestral animal or plant as having originally received its being and destination from the hand of the "Great Spirit." *Second*: All peoples who explain the multiplicity of their "gods" by theogonic processes of emanation or generation, must be assumed to have started with a prehistoric, or else self-postulated, primitive monotheism. No theogony is complete and satisfying until it conducts the mind back to a primeval and unengendered Progenitor of the total divine family. It is not strange, therefore, that in every historic polytheism we find traces of monotheism, prehistoric, or speculative, or both.¹ In the Egyptian system, the monotheistic and polytheistic elements are so inextricably blended that the ablest Egyptologists are unable to agree as to whether the one class or the other should be considered the predominating. In the religion of Zoroaster the dominance of the monotheistic idea is quite generally affirmed.

Even if the oldest ethnic religions presented no traces of an earlier monotheism it would not disprove the Biblical account of antediluvian religion. It might only prove that in the long period elapsing between the Deluge and the date of the oldest records of profane history, the widely scattered descendants of Noah either totally lost the knowledge of the one true God, or else placed the worship of their national and tribal divinities to

¹ Compare Chas. Loring Brace, *The Unknown God; or Inspiration among the Pre-Christian Races*. N. Y. 1890[3493 67.] and E. M. Caillard, *Progressive Revelation*, London 1895.— After all his studies of savage ideas and life, even Mr. A. Lang closes a volume with these impressive words: "Even the lowest savages, in hours of awe and need, lift their hands and their thoughts to their Father and to ours, who is not far from any one of us."— *Myth, Ritual and Religion*. vol. i. [3497.71].

such a degree in the foreground, that in our exceedingly meagre sources this worship seems the only one known and practised.

In proceeding with our study the aim of the student should be to acquire as clear an idea as possible of the nature, extent and present state of the sources for the study of each of the above enumerated religions. Also information as to the religion itself; the phases through which it passed; its significance for the history of human culture and for the World-religion.

More particular instruction as to means and methods will be given orally and by assigned questions and topics in the classroom, following the order of the Chapters below.

CHAPTER I.

History of the Religion of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians.

CHAPTER II.

History of the Religion of the ancient Egyptians.

CHAPTER III.

History of the Religion of the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, Canaanites, and Pre-Islamic Arabians.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Religion of the ancient Persians and Medo-Persians.

CHAPTER V.

History of the Religion of the Pelasgians and Greeks.

CHAPTER VI.

History of the Religion of the Etruscans and Romans.

CHAPTER VII.

History of the Religion which at the close of the period vitally and permanently supplanted all the foregoing, to wit, the World-religion.

This last named religion is so singularly unlike the other constituents of the group that before entering upon the study of its history during the period the student may well pause to note its characteristic quality.

It should be observed, then, that while among the eldest peoples of the ancient world we find a vague and shadowy primitive monotheism gradually giving place in historic times to in-

creasingly polytheistic ethnic religions, and these in turn oftentimes menaced and sometimes undermined by later speculative, moral and religious movements, or by political revolutions, there is one line of history in which we see that primitive monotheism preserved, enriched and perfected from age to age. This remarkable line is that up which our own religion traces its genealogy.

At first sight it might seem as if this unique and most remarkable of all historic developments in the religious sphere might more appropriately and logically be subdivided or resolved into three distinct religious systems, and classified thus :

1. Primeval Religion, or the rude original germ of all the ancient religions.
2. Judaism, as the ethnic or national system of the Jews.
3. Christianity as a beneficent schismatic and sectarian revolt from the narrowness and exclusiveness of the national Jewish faith. Those who recognize no exceptional or superhuman element in the entire evolution do thus proceed.

A deeper study of the whole subject, however, will manifest the impropriety of such a classification, and the scientific necessity of conceding to this ancient World-religion a character and historic unity of its own. Its earliest Pre-Hebraic form was indeed, in a certain sense, the germ of all the most ancient religions of the world, but its Hebrew form was not ethnic in any proper sense. Although to the Jews a national religion, it was not national in the same sense as were the Gentile religions. Even in the books of Moses, Jehovah declared that the whole earth was His (Ex. xix, 5). The first of the Ten Commandments implied the same doctrine. The Jews regarded themselves not as the monopolists, but rather as the temporary custodians of the true faith. They were trustees, guardians, executors, holding a precious legacy for the benefit of younger brothers not yet of age. They desired the divine blessing for themselves as a means of blessing for the whole world. "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, that Thy way may be known upon earth, Thy saving health to all nations." They regarded their religion as universal in its nature and destination. From the very first, it was understood, believed, and gloried in, that in

Abraham's seed all nations of the earth were to be blessed. Thus was the Jewish religion not ethnic, local, limited, but, from the outset, self-consciously and professedly universal in its nature and possibilities.

Nor was this universality merely ideal; it was a trait which powerfully affected the life. From the days when Moses said to Hobab, "Come with us and we will do thee good" (Num. x, 29), to the time when Jesus declared to his countrymen, "Ye compass land and sea to make one proselyte," this zeal to bring all nations, in God's time and way, into the enjoyment of the privileges of their own religious covenant and communion, was a signal characteristic of the Hebrew people. In Rahab and Ruth we see how, under the divine administration of human events, these converts from the Gentile nations could be promoted even to a place in the royal line of promise. In the Psalms, in Isaiah, Daniel, and the other prophets, we can see how confidently, yea, how longingly, the nation looked forward to the time when the knowledge of the glory of their Jehovah should cover the whole earth; when there would be no further need of proselyting teachers, no man needing to say to his brother, Know thou Jehovah, —all knowing Him already, from the least unto the greatest. How perfectly opposed to the spirit of every ancient ethnic religion. With them it was high treason to betray to neighboring peoples the sacred books, dogmas, or rites of the ancestral faith. King Tarquinius of Rome caused Valerius Soranus, a duumvir, to be sewed up in a sack and thrown into the sea for the crime of showing to Petronius, a Sabine, a book relating to the Roman religion.

So far, indeed, was Judaism from being an ethnic system, that it would be far more correct and scientific to style it the one implacable historic antagonist of all ancient ethnicisms. Age after age it stood a perpetual protest against them all. Even when overthrown and enslaved by surrounding powers, this strange people still confidently foretold the fall and failure of all these proud religions and states. Its prophets ridiculed, denounced, and doomed to destruction the mightiest deities of Egypt and Babylon, Phœnicia and Syria. The darker the present became, the brighter and nearer seemed to them the "day

of Jehovah," when He should arise to shake terribly the earth, when the idols he should utterly abolish.

In like manner the analogy of Christianity to the religious systems and sects which have originated by way of reaction against ethnic religions, is only of the most superficial and outward character. It has no basis in the real essence of Christianity. Reactionary sects and their systems arise, not from the ripening and perfecting of the essential principles and tendencies of the parent system, as does Christianity, but from the opposition of principles and tendencies antagonistic to the traditional religion. Christianity is not a new religion, it is merely a completer form of an old one — the oldest of all. If we are to call it a system distinct from the Jewish, it is a consummating, not a destroying, system. Jesus declared, "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil." Judaism, through all its history, expected to flower out into a new dispensation upon the coming of the Promised One. Reactionary religions and sects reject, abhor, and demonize the gods of ancestral worship, but Christians still worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Reactionary systems reject and destroy the teachings and sacred books of the parent system; Christianity, on the contrary, reverently retains and hallows all revelations and scriptures of the Old Dispensation. The founders of reactionary sects and systems promulgate new conditions of salvation; in Christianity, on the contrary, the apostle usually counted the most radical and innovating of all, expressly identifies the saving faith of the Christian with the saving faith of Abraham (Gal. iii, 7-29; Rom. iv). In a word, Christianity is to Judaism what the substance is to the forecast shadow (Col. ii, 17; Heb. x, 1); what a message from God's Son is, compared with a message from forerunning, God-sent messengers (Matt. xxi, 33-41; Heb. i, 1; Heb. ii, 4); what adult sonship is to the precedent stage of tutelage and pupilage (Gal. iv, 1-7); what the heavenly Jerusalem is to the earthly (Gal. iv, 24-31; Heb. xii, 18-23); what the full corn in the ear is to the ear as yet unfilled (Mark iv, 26-29). These similes all go to show not only that there is a principle of unity underlying the successive dispensations of sacred history, but also that this unity is positive, organic, and institutional. With the progress

of revelation, divine and human, the form has changed, but the essence has remained unchanged. This essence, according to its own representation, is the kingdom and life of God in enlightened, renewed, and obedient souls.

In yet another sense this World-religion is entitled to its name. It is the perpetual heir of the world's divinest treasures in every land. It embodies and expresses the power which is slowly accomplishing the divine purpose of human history. In Abraham it receives and carries forth from Babylonia the oldest and most sacred traditions of the antediluvian world. In Moses it takes possession of all the wisdom of the Egyptians. At Jerusalem it employs the best art of the world, Phœnicia's, to build and adorn a nobler temple than ever Phœnicia saw. Even in captivity it makes the proudest Persian conqueror its servant. It borrows for its sacred books the matchless tongue of Hellas; for schoolmasters for its children, the princely thinkers of Athens; for the better equipment of its free-born Apostle, the citizenship of Rome. Its field is the world. Conscious of a divine origin and destination, everywhere at home, it, and it alone, has power to utilize all other systems, and having vitally appropriated whatever is vital in them, permanently to supplant them all.

PART II. — *History of the Principal Religions known to the Mediæval World.*

SINCE the fall of the Ancient World, its heir, the World-religion, has more than ever had custody and guidance of human culture. For some centuries its leading instrument for this service in the secular sphere was the scepter of the Roman Empire. In this Christianized dominion more than anywhere else, and more than ever before, the prehistorically dispersed human race came to a consciousness of its inter-gentile and super-gentile unity. The old ethnic ideals fell, never to rise again. Provincialism in religion, as in manners and modes of thought, lost caste. Polytheism ceased to be suited to the cultivated; it was fit only for rustic villagers — *Pagani*. Purely ethnic philosophies and religions like ethnic autochthonisms,

needed no learned refutation ; they simply found themselves left behind in the forward movement of Humanity. Under a redemptive experience of the All-Fatherhood of God, men of the most diverse tribes and tongues quickly discerned and acknowledged the All-Brotherhood of Man. A new philosophy of the world and of its history burst into expression in Augustine's *Civitas Dei*, then hastened forward to fuller and even more immortal utterance in Dante's *Divina Commedia*.

With the progress of the endogenous growth of the World-religion in the new world-culture during this period, every well recognized survival of the elder ethnic systems disappeared. In the progress of its exogenous growth, on the frontiers of the monotheistic world, new ethnic cults were discovered, but none of them equalled either in maturity, or in grade of culture, the great ethnic religions of the elder world. In their turn these fell, and at the close of the second period of Universal History, as at the close of the first, the World-religion was found the heir and successor to all that had been.

In the order of the following chapters the new forms of ethnicism belonging to the period are successively to be studied. In all cases the data are very defective ; but here, as in similar cases, an important part of the profit of historical study consists in the discovery of the bounds of knowledge.

CHAPTER I.

History of re-established Zoroastrianism in the new kingdom of Persia under the Sassanidæ.

CHAPTER II.

History of the Religion of the Celtic Tribes.

CHAPTER III.

History of the Religion of the Teutonic Tribes.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Religion of the Slavic Tribes.

CHAPTER V.

History of the Religion of the West-Mongolians.

CHAPTER VI.

Continuation of the History of the World-religion, — the monotheism which in Jewish, Christian, or Mohammedan form, at the end of the period, had vitally and permanently supplanted all the foregoing.

The above order of treatment best answers to the historic movement as a whole. It also has the advantage of presenting Islamism in its true historic relations on the one hand to the ethnic systems (see above Chapter III of Part First), and on the other to Judaism and Christianity. The complete view of the system in these latter relationships can best be gained under Chapter IV. of Part First of Division Second of the present Book, and under Part Third of Division First of Book Second.

In this connection the following among many similar works will be found instructive: —

Uhlhorn, Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism. — Merivale, Conversion of the Roman Empire; Conversion of the Northern Nations. — Maclear, on the same subjects. — E. G. Hardy, Christianity and the Roman Government. — Milman, History of Latin Christianity. — C. L. Bruce, Gesta Christi. — Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. — Lessing, Nathan.

The best life of Mohammed is Muir's, which also includes a brief history of Islam; 4 vols., London, 1858–1860 [*K.207.8]. There is also a small popular compendium in one volume. Sale's translation of the Koran has held a place of honor since 1734 [3484.31]. Rodwell's [3485.110], giving the Suras in chronological order, was published in 1862. E. H. Palmer's, 2 vols., 1880 [3024.58, vols. 6 and 9]. Lane's Selections from the Koran is a valuable compilation, and reached a second edition in 1879 [3027.54]. The most valuable Commentary upon the Koran is that by E. N. Wherry, 4 vols., London, 1885 [3026.55]. An extremely valuable encyclopædic work was published in 1885 by Hughes, entitled A Dictionary of Islam [*3482.57]. See, also, his Notes on Mohammedanism [3488.102]. Stanley Lane Poole edited a little work in 1882, under the title, The Speeches and Table Talk of Mohammed. The best general text-book, in small compass, is The Faith of Islam, by Rev. E. Sell, London, 1882 [5481.55]. Useful and inexpensive are the following: Muir, The Koran, its Composition and Teaching, London, 1879 [5489a.68]; Stobart, Islam and its Founder, London, 1877 [5489a.58]. W. St. Clair-Tisdall, The Religion of the Crescent, 1895. On the progress of Mohammedanism, see Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Chapter L. and onward. Also, Ockley's History of the Saracens. Also, Muir, Caliphate [3044.114]. For a thorough study of contemporaneous Islamism, the following work is almost indispensable: D'Ohsson, Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman. A partial English translation [5491.51].

In the study of this subordinate type of the World-religion, two points are of more than ordinary scientific as well as practical interest. First, the constant testimony borne by the Koran to the divine origin, authority and truth of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. This is very learnedly and extendedly treated by Sir William Muir in his little work, *The Koran, its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures*. In this, citing the original Arabic texts, he examines critically each of the one hundred and thirty-one passages of the Koran referring to the Bible, or quoting from it. He thus finds and shows that Mohammed uniformly assumes the existence and currency of the Old and New Testaments in his time, that he calls them the Word of God, that he attests their inspiration and authority, and inculcates upon his followers obedience to them.

The second point of peculiar interest is, that while Islamism claims for Mohammed the honor of being the latest of a series of twenty-five great prophets who have formed a holy succession from Adam downward, and while it gives special honor to Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, as chief of these twenty-five, and as divinely appointed heads of successive divine dispensations, it yet remains a curious fact that of all these greater and lesser prophets, Jesus is the only one to whom the Koran imputes no sin, the only one who never needed the pardoning grace of God. That Mohammed was a sinner, and again and again needed the forgiveness of sins, is abundantly taught in such passages as Sura iv, 104, 105 ; xl, 21 ; xlviii, 1-3 : xciii, 6, 7 ; cx, 3.

It is also an interesting fact that all Mohammedans are Second Adventists in an approximately Christian sense of this term, and that it is their universal belief that we are now living in the last times. Their Mahdi may appear at any hour.

In their Eschatology, all three forms of the World-religion strikingly converge. Paul foresaw the disappearance of the antithesis between Israelite and Christian (Rom. xi, 13-26 ; Eph. ii, 11-22) ; yea, even the disappearance of that twixt Moslem and Christian and Jew, — in the day when, in the name of Jesus, every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth,

and things under the earth, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

PART III. *History of the Principal Religions of the World in Modern Times.*

HERE belong all those successively disclosed by the progress of modern exploration before, during, and since the circumnavigation of the globe. They claim the attention of the student in the following order, as that in which they claimed the attention of the Christian world:—

- I. The religions of the West-Central and South African Tribes.
- II. The religions of the American Indians.
- III. The religions of the Pacific Islanders.
- IV. The religions of the East India aborigines and Hindus.
- V. The religions of the aboriginal and present populations of Farther India, and of the Islands of the Indian Ocean.
- VI. The religions of the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans.
- VII. The religions of the North and Central Asiatic Nomads.
- VIII. The World-religion, which, chiefly in its Christian form, has, during the period, more or less completely supplanted the foregoing in South Africa, in North and South America, in the chief Islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans; which has taken political control of Africa, Northern and Southern Asia, Australia, New Zealand, the whole of the New World, and which is steadily establishing itself in every unchristianized corner of the globe.

The above order is chronological as far as possible.

In the case of the first, second, third, fifth, and seventh of the above-mentioned religions, it is plainly impossible to trace their rise and historic development. The data are too entirely lacking. On the other hand, such religions as those of the Hindus and Chinese present historic developments full of interest and importance. See "Specimen Studies."

DIVISION SECOND.

THE HISTORY OF DEVELOPMENTS COMMON TO SEVERAL PARTICULAR RELIGIONS.

The lines of historic investigation presenting themselves under this head are almost numberless. For our present propædeutic purpose the more important of them are the following:

PART I. *History of the Rise and Development of Racial, National, Tribal or other types or varieties from a Religion originally single.*

- I. The Proto-Semitic Religion in its development into the historic systems of Arabia, Assyria, Phœnicia, etc.
- II. The Pre-Vedic Proto-Aryan Religion in its development into the various historic systems of the Indo-Germanic peoples.
- III. Original Buddhism in its development into the Ceylonese, Burmese, Chinese, Thibetan and other varieties.
- IV. Primitive Monotheism in its development into the existing systems and sects.

PART II. *History of the Absorption of lesser and more local Religions into greater and more prevalent Ones.*

Examples.

- I. In the history of ancient Babylonia.
- II. In the history of ancient Egypt.
- III. In the history of the Persian Empire.
- IV. In the history of the Roman Empire.
- V. In the history of Buddhism.
- VI. In the history of the World-religion.

PART III. *History of the Rise and Development of various Cults and Worships common to several Particular Religions.*

Here belong such as the following :

- I. Ancestor and Hero Worship.
- II. Light, Fire, Sun, Moon, and Star Worship.

- III. Worship of terrestrial objects (Zoölatry, Phytolatry, Dendrolatry, etc.).
- IV. Worship of spirits Shamanistically conceived of by their worshipers ; etc., etc.

PART IV. *History of the Rise and Development of Particular Rites, Usages, or Institutions common to several Religions.*

Here are meant such as :

- I. Animal Sacrifice, and Religious Offerings in general.
- II. Divination in its various forms.
- III. Religious tonsure, circumcision, and other bodily mutilations from religious motives. Human Sacrifice.
- IV. Religious Festivals ; Orgies ; Pilgrimages to Holy Places, etc.
- V. Priesthoods ; and other Religious Orders.
- VI. Temple Building ; Sacred Art ; etc.

PART V. *History of the Rise and Progress of various Speculative Movements common to several Religions.*

Here are meant such movements as :

- I. That toward Speculative Theism.
- II. That toward Speculative Atheism.
- III. That toward Pantheism.
- IV. That toward Dualism.
- V. That toward Optimism.
- VI. That toward Pessimism.
- VII. That toward Casualism.
- VIII. That toward Fatalism.

PART VI. *History of the Rise and Progress of Various Practical Tendencies common to Different Religions.*

Here belong such tendencies and movements as :

- I. That toward lifeless doctrinal Dogmatism.
- II. That toward revolutionary religious Scepticism.
- III. That toward religious Mysticism.
- IV. That toward hierarchical Ceremonialism.

- V. That toward personal and cenobitic Asceticism.
 - VI. That toward aggressive proselytizing or persecuting Fanaticism.
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DIVISION THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF MATTERS COMMON TO ALL RELIGIONS, OR THE HISTORY OF RELIGION UNIVERSALLY CONSIDERED.

THE imperfection of our sources renders it as yet impossible to elaborate in a really satisfactory manner any considerable period or even branch of the universal history of religion.

The following among other conceivable lines of investigation suggest in a rough way the interest and the immense extent of the field :

- I. A synchronological history of the rise and development of the religions of the world, including a conspectus of their present state geographically, ethnologically, and statistically considered.
- II. History of the actions and reactions of religion upon each other, and the effects thereof upon the history of religion universally considered.
- III. History of the religious delusions and impostures.
- IV. History of religion viewed as a disuniting and as a reuniting factor in the ethnical and national life of Humanity.
- V. History of the religious conceptions and life of mankind as a whole, set forth from the standpoint of naturalism.
- VI. History of the religious conceptions and life of mankind set forth from the standpoint of the World-religion.

At this point the History of Religions becomes a Philosophy of Religion, for a true history of the world's religious phenomena includes of necessity an explanation of the methods and reasons in and on account of which they have become what they are, and this of course is a Philosophy of Religion-historically-considered.

BOOK SECOND.

THE RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA OF THE WORLD SYSTEMATICALLY
CONSIDERED.

(HIEROGRAPHY : GENERAL AND SPECIAL.)

INTRODUCTION.

- DIVISION I. Systematic Exposition of Particular Religions.
- DIVISION II. Systematic Exposition of Matters Common to
Several Particular Religions.
- DIVISION III. Systematic Exposition of Matters Common to
All Religions.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the preceding Book we have had to do with religious developments as processes, here we have to do with their results. The difference is well illustrated by that existing between the sciences called the History of Christian Doctrine, and Didactic Theology. While the cultivator of the one studies the genesis and modifications of a particular process in the life of the Christian Church, the cultivator of the other studies the accomplished result of the same process at a particular point of time. The same relation exists on a broader field between the History of the Surface of the Earth, and Geography. In each case the one of the related sciences shows us the origin and progress of a historic movement; the other the organized historic result. The one is profluent in character, the other static.

In approaching the systematic treatment of religions and of the religious phenomena of the world as a whole, one of the first questions encountered is that of division, classification and order of treatment. On this important subject but little has yet been written. Writers on the Philosophy of Religion have proposed a variety of philosophic divisions, and have sometimes attempted to classify the facts, historical and actual, in accordance therewith. Were the systematic exposition of religion in all its forms yet possible, these proposals and attempts would be suggestive and valuable; but to the student of particular religions and groups of religions the classifications offered seem arbitrary in the extreme. Even as schemes for the division and classification of religious phenomena universally considered, their variety, and especially their mutual inconsistencies and oppositions, amounting in some cases to mutual self-cancellation, show that they have all sprung, not from a descriptive or scientifically expository aim, but rather from a desire to make history conform to the writer's preconceived philosophical principles and theories.

A classification of religions purely for the purpose of systematic exposition should be primarily based on the historic order of their rise and culmination. Ancient religions should come before modern ones. This is only following the natural scientific order. So in those cases where a continuous religious development has successively culminated in systems quite distinct from each other, these successive systems should also be expounded in the same order in which they appear. Thus in the case of Hindu religion, the Vedic system should be expounded before the Brahmanical, the Brahmanical before the conglomerate system now prevalent. So in the monotheistic line of development, Patriarchal Religion should precede the Mosaism of Solomon's kingdom; this should precede the Judaism prevalent in the time of Christ's birth; this in turn precede primitive Christianity, primitive Christianity every later form of the World-religion. The reasons for such adherence to the historical order are too obvious to need enumeration.

As to contemporary religions, ancient or modern, several principles of classification are possible, each with its own peculiar advantages. For example, the national religion of the ancient Germans was contemporary with a vast number of other religious systems, but if in classifying the religions of those ages we follow the principle of ethnological affinity, and accordingly study and expound the Germanic system in connection with the related mythologies and rites of other Indo-European peoples, Hindu, Persian, Greek, Roman, Celtic, Slav, etc., our task will be greatly simplified and the result more truly scientific. On the other hand, there are often found groups of contemporary religions where the ethnological principle of classification is entirely inapplicable. The peoples among whom they are found are so mixed as to race-character that the attempt to keep race-peculiarities in view would only introduce confusion. The ancient Babylonians are such a people; the Egyptians another; even the Chinese in the broad sense another. Indeed, so rare are the instances of religious systems embodying and expressing what may be called race-ideas and race-tendencies that some eminent writers deny their existence altogether, and affirm that all historic forms of religion should be expounded in their rela-

tion to *nations* — none of them in their imagined relation to races. If this view be thought one-sided and extreme, it at least has the merit of reminding us of the cases where the national or political principle of classification may be more advantageously employed than anywhere else, viz., in the grouping of the contemporary religions of ethnographically mixed peoples.

Max Müller, in the second and third of his lectures introductory to the Science of Religion [3438.58], argues for a classification of all religions on the basis of language. It was a natural suggestion for a comparative philologist to make, but as an exclusive principle of classification it is entirely impracticable. So far as the principle is coincident with the ethnological one, it is entitled to the subordinate place and use that we have above illustrated, but nothing more.

DIVISION FIRST.

PARTICULAR RELIGIONS SYSTEMATICALLY TREATED.

For the purpose of a systematic treatment, the grouping of the leading religions of the world according to the order proposed for their historical study in Book I, Part I, would present many advantages, and should, perhaps, have the preference over all others. Should one desire to vary it, however, it might be found convenient to group all religions in the following classes:—

- I. The Extinct Ethnic.
- II. The Yet Surviving Ethnic.
- III. The Monotheistic Systems.

Adopting this classification, the present Division includes three several Parts.

PART I. *Systematic Exposition of the Chief Extinct Ethnic Religions of the World.*

The exposition should include not only their conceptions or doctrines, but also their religious institutions, rites, etc. Here belong, among others, the religions:—

- I. Of the Ancient Chaldæo-Assyrians.

- II. Of the Ancient Egyptians.
- III. Of the Phœnicians, Canaanites, and Arabians.
- IV. Of the Greeks.
- V. Of the Romans.
- VI. Of the Celts.
- VII. Of the Teutons.
- VIII. Of the Slavs.
- IX. Of the Mexicans.
- X. Of the Peruvians.

In few if any of the above have we reason for believing that the religious development culminated in successive systems so distinct and different from each other as to call for separate descriptive treatment.

PART II. *Systematic Exposition of the Chief Living Ethnic Religions of the World.*

Here belong, among others, the religions :—

- I. Of the Hindus.
- II. Of the more or less Buddhistic populations of Eastern Asia.
- III. Of the Parsees.
- IV. Of the Barbarian World.

PART III. *Systematic Exposition of the Chief Successive Forms of the World-Religion.*

These are, of course :

- I. The Hebrew Form (Ancient Judaism).
- II. The Apostolic (Primitive Christianity).
- III. The Oriental Christian Form (Greek Church).
- IV. The Arabian, Judæo-Christian (Islam).
- V. The Latin Christian (Romanism).
- VI. The Teutonic Christian (Protestantism).
- VII. The Incoming Millennial World-religion.

DIVISION SECOND.

SYSTEMATIC TREATMENT OF MATTERS COMMON TO SEVERAL RELIGIONS.

The comparative study of any group of religions, whether naturally and historically related or arbitrarily selected, discloses certain likenesses or unlikenesses in their characteristic conceptions, beliefs, and usages. These resemblances and differences are always interesting and often highly instructive, especially as contributions toward a true Philosophy of Religion and a true Philosophy of History. Systematically presented, they constitute Comparative Theology, properly so called.

PART I. *Systematic Exposition of Conceptions Common to Various Religions.*

These conceptions may be most lucidly presented in two parallel classes in parallel columns, the first of which relates to monotheistic, the second to non-monotheistic religions :

- | | |
|---|---|
| I. Their conceptions of God. | I. Their Theogonies and Theologies. |
| II. Their conceptions of the Creation of the World. | II. Their Cosmogonies and Cosmologies. |
| III. Their conceptions of Angels and Men. | III. Ethnic Pneumatology (Metempsychosis, etc.). |
| IV. Conception of the one divine Law, and of Sin. | IV. Ethnic views of Moral Obligation and of Evil. |
| V. Divinely-sent Teachers and Prophets. | V. Self-attained Seership, Buddhahood, etc. |
| VI. Their conceptions of Salvation from Sin. | VI. Their conception of Deliverance from Evil. |
| VII. Their conceptions of Death and of the Future. | VII. Their conception of Death and of the Future. |

PART II. *Systematic Exposition of the Duties inculcated and Moral Life Actually Achieved in Various Religions.*

- I. The Duties of Piety.
- II. The Duties of Parents and Children.

- III. The Duties of Husbands and Wives.
- IV. The Duties of Masters and Servants.
- V. The Duties of Rulers and Subjects.
- VI. The Duties of Man to Beast.
- VII. The Duties of Man to Man.

PART III. *Systematic Exposition of the Laws and Institutional Life of Various Religions.*

- I. Forms of Organization and Administration.
- II. Laws touching Initiation, Discipline, etc.
- III. Laws touching Rites of an ordinary or periodic character.
- IV. Laws touching Rites of an extraordinary or unique character.
- V. Laws relating to the Priesthoods exclusively.
- VI. General Codes of religious laws ; Sacred Books ; relation of the Individual to the Governing Power in different religions, etc.

DIVISION THIRD.

SYSTEMATIC TREATMENT OF MATTERS COMMON TO ALL RELIGIONS.

In the present condition of knowledge a satisfactory systematic treatment of the matters common to all religions is impossible. The divisions below are intended only as suggestions of what would be desirable if practicable.

PART I. *Conceptions Common to All Religions.*

- I. Conceptions of the Divine.
- II. Conceptions of the Origin of Things.
- III. Conceptions of the Origin of Man.
- IV. Conceptions of the Origin of Evil.
- V. Conceptions of Deliverance from Evil.
- VI. Conceptions of the Highest Good.

PART II. *Sentiments Common to All Religions.*

- I. The sentiment of Dependence upon somewhat extra-human.
- II. The sentiment of Obligation toward that extra-human somewhat.
- III. The sentiment of moral Self-approval with respect to the object or objects of religion.
- IV. The sentiment of moral Self-reprobation in the same respect.
- V. The sentiment of religious hope and fear ; trust and distrust ; love and hate ; etc., etc.

PART III. *Practices Common to All Religions.*

- I. Practices expressive predominantly of religious Self-surrender.
- II. Practices expressive predominantly of religious Self-assertion.

It will be observed that, in the foregoing Division, as before in the corresponding Division III of Book I, we make a transition to the Philosophy of Religion. There we saw the History of Religious Phenomena universally considered merge itself into the Philosophy of Religion historically considered. Here, by a like inherent necessity, the Systematic Exposition of Religion-universally-considered merges and loses itself in the Philosophy of Religion-systematically-considered. Thus both the historic and the systematic methods prepare the way for and conduct us into the philosophic.

BOOK THIRD.

THE RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA OF THE WORLD PHILOSOPHICALLY
CONSIDERED.

(THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.)

INTRODUCTION.

- DIVISION I. Philosophy of the Object of Religion and of His
Manward Self-revelation.
- DIVISION II. Philosophy of the Subject of Religion and of
His Godward Self-revelation.
- DIVISION III. Philosophy of the Inter-relations of Subject and
Object in the Vital Movement of the World-
religion.

INTRODUCTION.¹

An introduction to the Philosophy of Religion should include at least the following topics :—

- I. The Aim and Possibility of a Philosophy of Religion.
- II. The Relation of the Philosophy of Religion to other branches of Philosophy.
- III. The Relation of the Philosophy of Religion to the History and to the Systematic Exposition of Religions.
- IV. History, Literature and present State of the Philosophy of Religion.
- V. Different fundamental Standpoints and Postulates of different Philosophies of Religion.
- VI. Plan and Method of treatment demanded by the present state of religious knowledge and by present currents of thought and life.

A word respecting each must take the place of fuller exposition.

Ad primum. We may define the Philosophy of Religion as that synthesis of the Philosophy of God and of the Philosophy of Man and of the Philosophy of their natural and personal relations in which all facts relative to the attitude and bearing of each to the other find their rational explanation. Its aim is to harmonize and unify, and thus to rectify and more perfectly interpret, and also finally to verify, men's conceptions respecting

¹ Our most elaborate work in the English language entitled an Introduction of the Philosophy of Religion, is that by Principal John Caird, of Glasgow University, published 1880. This, however, is rather an outline of a Philosophy of Religion, than an Introduction to it. Thus it first vindicates the possibility and propriety of a philosophic handling of Religion (Chapters I-III); then treats of the Necessity of Religion; the Proofs of the Existence of God; of the Religious Consciousness; of the Inadequacy of Religious Knowledge in the Unscientific Form; of the Transition to the Speculative Idea of Religion; of the Religious Life and Relation of Morality to Religion; and, finally, of the relation of the Philosophy to the History of Religion (Chapters IV-X). Under none of the above heads is the branch of learning to which the author proposes to introduce us defined as to matter, aim, method, or its relation to other branches of human investigation. On these points, however, more than any other the beginner needs to be enlightened.

the Subject, Object and Essence of Religion. Its possibility is absolute, so far as facts and phenomena are concerned; relative and limited, however, when considered with reference to our limited knowledge and limited powers.

Ad secundum. The Philosophy of Religion, being the synthesis of the philosophy of the infinite and of the finite, necessarily stands at the summit of all philosophic disciplines, crowning and unifying the whole. It is the queen of all, and to her all are directly and logically tributary.

Ad tertium. The relation of the Philosophy of Religion to the History and to the Systematic Exposition of Religion has been briefly but perhaps sufficiently hinted in the closing remarks under Book I and Book II [Pp. 42 and 51].

Ad quartum. The history of the Philosophy of Religion is well presented in the partially translated work of Pünjer [7602.60]. The student may profitably consult Otto Pfeiderer, Philosophy of Religion, Vols. I and II [3600a.21].

Ad quintum. The Philosophy of Religion can be treated from as many fundamentally different subjective standpoints as any other branch of philosophy. Hence we must be prepared to see it treated by the most varied and antagonistic writers, each from his own peculiar point of view: agnostic, sensationalistic, idealistic, sceptic, mystic, eclectic, etc., etc. And of this, religion must not complain; it is only subject to the same fortune as befalls all subjects of human thought.

But besides these subjective standpoints there are also certain objective postulates which lead to treatments of the matter fundamentally diverse. Such postulates are those of materialistic monism, idealistic monism, undifferentiated monism, those of various forms of dualism, etc.

Among all these various standpoints and postulates it is the duty of every writer upon the Philosophy of Religion, first, to make an intelligent and conscientious choice; then, having chosen, to define and vindicate his choice, and remain logically true to it.

Ad sextum. On the proper divisions and methods of a Philosophy of Religion little has as yet been written. Nor is it easy to set forth any single distribution of the matter or any

single method for its treatment that can claim superiority in all respects over others. For since every related group of religious phenomena, however small and however isolated, demands at the hands of the interpreter of religion a rational explanation, it is evident that this department of study can be divided into an almost unlimited number of constituent branches, and that these are susceptible of almost any number of varying arrangements, combinations, and treatments, according to one's point of view and according to one's aim in the total construction.

Perhaps these possible variations in plan and method may best be illustrated by glancing at the order of the topics in a few actual works upon this subject. We will take four works representing respectively America, Scotland, England, and Germany.

The first is the *Philosophy of Religion*, by ex-President John Bascom, New York, 1876, the first American work, perhaps, published under this title. It includes an Introduction chiefly on the Relation of Philosophy to Science; then fifteen chapters on the following topics: I. A Statement of Mental Powers. II. The Being of Matter and Mind. III. The Being of God. IV. The Attributes of God. V. Nature. VI. Man. VII. Immortality. VIII. Revelation. IX. Miracles. X. Inspiration. XI. Interpretation. XII. Primitive Facts: Sin and the Divine Law. XIII. Constructive Facts: Trinity, Christ, His Divinity, Work, Holy Spirit, Sanctification, The Church. XIV. Future Life. XV. Lines and Conditions of Progress.

As an English work we will take the *Philosophy of Religion* by J. D. Morell, London, 1849. This consists of twelve chapters as follows: I. On the Faculties of the Human Mind. II. On the Distinction between the logical and the intuitional Consciousness. III. On the peculiar Essence of Religion. IV. On the peculiar Essence of Christianity. V. On Revelation. VI. On Inspiration. VII. On Christian Theology. VIII. On the Analysis of Popular Theology. IX. On Fellowship. X. On Certitude. XI. On the Significance of the Past. XII. On the relation between Philosophy and Theology.

For a German work we will take that of the late Albert Peip, of Göttingen, edited by Dr. Theodore Hoppe, Gütersloh, 1879.¹ His Introduction consists of three sections: 1. The Definition of the Philosophy of Religion or the adjustment of it as a central science to Philosophy as a whole. 2. Historical Development of the Philosophy of Religion and its present Task. 3. Proposed Divisions.

The body of the work is divided into three Parts: the first, treating of the Essence of Religion, the second, of the Historical Forms of its manifestation, and the third presenting a Critical Comparison of these forms. Sections 4-8

¹ For other German plans see *The Philosophies of Religion* by Pünjer (1886); Rauwenhoff (1889) Sydel (1893); Siebeck (1893); Krause (1893); etc.

are a special introduction on the term Religion, as defined by different writers, on possible religious Defects and on the hypothetical Necessity of a Revelation of Salvation. Sections 9-14 treat of the Being of God in His relation to the World, especially to Men. Here are treated the so-called proofs of the existence of God and their criticism, the result reached being that while these arguments do not demonstrate the existence of God of Christian Revelation, they do establish and define the philosophical conception of an eternal, almighty, and all-wise Being in such wise as to prepare the foundation for the faith in the God of Revelation. Sections 15-19 treat of the being of Man in his relation to God. Section 20 is on the Hypothetical Necessity of the Incarnation, and closes Part First. Section 21 introduces Part Second by proposing a division of the forms of religious manifestation in the world, that is, the religious systems into Natural and Revealed. Section 22 proposes a division of Natural Religion into three varieties, to wit: (1) the not yet mythological; (2) the mythological, and (3) no longer mythological. The first of these varieties, including unsystematic nature-deification, astrology, and the Chinese imperial religion, is sketched in sections 23-25. The second covers sections 26-31, and includes the religion of India, those of Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, Rome and Persia.

The third variety, embracing Buddhism and Germanic Religion, fills sections 31-33. Modern Judaism (section 34) is considered so corrupt as to be classed under the general head of Natural Religion. Revealed Religion is sketched only very briefly in section 35, and Islam as an appendix in section 36, which closes Part II. Part III, which was to present Comparative Theology, had not been worked out at the time of the author's death. Less than three pages are given as sketching what was in the author's plan.

Lotze's Philosophy of Religion is a small book of lecture-outlines, translated by Professor Ladd, of New Haven. It has two defects: first, it nowhere defines religion; and second, it nowhere informs us what a Philosophy of Religion should be.

Passing now to the constituent Divisions, Parts and Chapters of the present Book, we briefly survey the broad field opened to the student by the philosophic study of Religions and of the World-religion.

DIVISION FIRST.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE DATA IMPLYING AND VARIOUSLY ILLUSTRATING THE TRUE OBJECT OF RELIGION AND HIS PERSONAL BEARING OVER AGAINST THE SUBJECT IN THE UNITY OF THE WORLD-RELIGION.

The most general and significant of the data here meant are the universal human consciousness of Dependence, and the intellectual postulates requisite to an understanding of the historic and current expressions of this consciousness in forms of pious and impious Self-surrender.

The logically inevitable implication of the universal human consciousness of Dependence is the finiteness of the subject, and of all human subjects. And the logically inevitable implication of the finiteness of all dependent human subjects is an extra- or super-human Object, independent and infinite. In this, all religionists capable of philosophic thought agree.

PART I.

The Philosophy of the Finite ; issuing in the Postulate of a Personality non-finite and holy, the independent Object of the World-religion.

A full presentation of the philosophy of the Finite in its relation to the Infinite would require the elaboration of at least the following chapters :—

CHAPTER I.

The Ontology of the Finite ; or the Philosophy of its Existence.

Outcome : The postulate of a pre-existent and adequate Cause.

CHAPTER II.

The Etiology of the Finite ; or the Philosophy of the Causation of the Finite.

Outcome : The postulate of an orderly Adjustment of causes, and of a Cause for this orderly adjustment of causes.

CHAPTER III.

The Cosmology of the Finite ; or the Philosophy of the Orderliness of the Finite.

Outcome : The postulate of Purpose in all cosmical adjustments of Causes, including a Moral Purpose in the Moral Order.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ethics of the Finite ; or the Philosophy of the Moral Order in the Finite.

Outcome : The postulate of a Moral Personality back of and underneath all the causal adjustments and ethical orderings of the Finite.

CHAPTER V.

The Teleology of the Finite ; or the Philosophy of the supreme Aim and Goal of the Finite.

Outcome : The postulate of a beginningless and endless Personality, working from ethical aims, and effecting, under the forms of time and space, a perpetually on-going Self-manifestation or Self-revelation of Himself, in and unto finite intelligences.

PART II.

*Philosophy of the Self-revelation of God in and unto Man ;
issuing in the postulate of a Divine Incarnation.*

The Self-revelation of God should be studied with reference to its primal motive, its law, its possible forms, and its possible consummation.

CHAPTER I.

The Source or primal Motive of all normal Self-revelations.

Outcome : Unselfish love the only worthy Source or primal Motive of Self-revelation in the personal sphere.

CHAPTER II.

The Law of all normal Self-revelation of God.

Outcome : All Self-revelations of the Infinite Personality to the finite are modes of self-limitation ; on the contrary every right self-revelation of the finite personality to the Infinite is a mode of emancipation from self-limitations.

CHAPTER III.

Forms of the Self-revelation of God.

Outcome: The forms of the Self-revelation of God are determined partly by His own nature, partly by the counter-bearing of those for whom the revelation is designed.

CHAPTER IV.

The Self-revelation of God as affected by pious forms of self-surrender on the part of Man.

Outcome: The receptiveness and responsiveness of a man at any moment the gauge of the present possibilities of God's Self-revelation to that man, but not the gauge of future possibilities.

CHAPTER V.

The Self-revelation of God as affected by impious forms of self-surrender on the part of Man.

Outcome: The unreceptiveness and irresponsiveness of a man at any moment the gauge of the present barriers to God's Self-revelation to that man, but not the gauge of future barriers.

CHAPTER VI.

God's Self-revelation to Man in its intensive Perfection.

Outcome: The Self-revelation of God to Man can reach intensive completion only in a divine Incarnation.

CHAPTER VII.

God's Self-revelation in its extensive Perfection.

Outcome: The Self-revelation of God to Man cannot be conceived or as ever attaining extensive completion. This would require not only the conception of a completed Humanity, but also that of a completed life and death eternal.

DIVISION SECOND.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE DATA IMPLYING AND VARIOUSLY ILLUSTRATING THE TRUE SUBJECT OF RELIGION AND HIS PERSONAL BEARING OVER AGAINST THE OBJECT IN THE UNITY OF THE WORLD-RELIGION.

The most general and significant of the data here meant are the universal human consciousness of unfulfilled Obligation and

the intellectual postulates requisite to an understanding of the historic and current expressions of this consciousness in forms of pious and impious Self-assertion.¹

The logically inevitable implication of this universal human consciousness of unfulfilled Obligation is the moral Imperfection of the subject, and of all human subjects. And the logically inevitable implication of the moral imperfection of all human subjects is the need of a Perfection, moral and at one time or another attainable. In this all religionists capable of philosophic thought agree.

PART I.

The Philosophy of Human Sin : issuing in the postulate of a Race of unholy Personalities, the obligated Subjects of the World-religion.

A full presentation of moral Imperfection (Sin), in its relation to moral Perfection (Holiness), would require the elaboration of at least the following Chapters :—

CHAPTER I.

The Ontology of Sin ; or the Philosophy of the Existence of moral Imperfection.

Outcome : The postulate of the absolute absence of a cause for sin in anything anterior to or apart from a first sinner.

CHAPTER II.

The Etiology of Sin ; or the Philosophy of its possible Causation in a first sinner.

Outcome : The postulate of Moral Freedom under that form of God's Self-revelation called the moral World-order.

CHAPTER III.

The Cosmology of Sin ; or the Philosophy of universal moral Imperfection in its relation to the universal moral World-order in the human sphere.

Outcome : The postulate of unholy Purposes, present and more or less operative in all men.

¹ "The best measure of the profundity of any religious teaching is given by its conception of sin and the cure of sin." — AMIEL.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ethics of Sin; or the Philosophy of universal moral Imperfection in its relation to the human will, individual and generic.

Outcome: The postulate of morally imperfect emotions and perceptions back of and underlying the immoral volitions of individuals; and more remotely the postulate of an unholy race-choice back of and underlying all morally imperfect race-emotions, race-perceptions, and race-volitions.

CHAPTER V.

The Teleology of Sin; or the Philosophy of universal moral Imperfection in its relation to the divine Aim and Goal of human history,

Outcome: The postulate of a Race of genealogically cohering, individually and co-operatively Self-actualizing personalities, working from ethical and unethical aims, and effecting, under the forms of time and space, a perpetually on-going Self-manifestation or Self-revelation of itself and of its constituent personalities in and unto God.

PART II.

Philosophy of the Self-revelation of Man in and unto God issuing in the postulate of a human Indivination.

Unlike that of God, the Self-revelation of a man is twofold, normal and abnormal. Some of his forms of Self-assertion are pious, some are impious. The philosophy of the total revelation must include the one class as fully as the other.

Again, human Self-manifestations are more than the term implies. They not only show what the Self now is, but also help to determine what the Self is hereafter to be.

CHAPTER I.

Sin as a mode of Self-revelation.

Outcome: While unselfish love should be the primal motive in all Self-revelation, selfish love is the primal motive in this.

CHAPTER II.

The Law of sinful Self-revelation.

Outcome: The Self-revelation being an unnatural one, its law is also unnatural: the revelation follows a law, not of emancipation, but of enslavement to unnatural self-limitations.

CHAPTER III.

Forms of sinful Self-revelation.

Outcome: The forms of the sinful Self-revelation of men are determined partly by their own nature, partly by the counter-bearing of Him against whom these Self-revelations are directed.

CHAPTER IV.

Holy living as a mode of Self-revelation on the part of Man.

Outcome: Here man reaches the primal motive of God's Self-revelation, a pure and unselfish love.

CHAPTER V.

The Law of holy Self-revelation.

Outcome: Here man comes under the blessed law of progressive emancipation from Self-limitations, and constantly increasing assimilation to God.

CHAPTER VI.

Forms of holy Self-revelation on the part of Man.

Outcome: Every pious Self-assertion on the part of man calls out new Self-revelations on the part of God, and so renders possible new degrees and forms of holy Self-revelation on man's part, and all this in indefinite successions of action and reaction.

CHAPTER VII.

Man's Self-revelation in and unto God in its intensive Perfection.

Outcome: The Self-revelation of man in and unto God can reach intensive completeness only in a human Indivination.

CHAPTER VIII.

Man's Self-revelation in and unto God in its extensive Perfection.

Outcome: The Self-revelation of Man in and unto God cannot be conceived of as ever attaining extensive completion. This would require not only the conception of a completed Humanity, but also that of a completed life, and death eternal.

DIVISION THIRD.

PHILOSOPHY OF THE DATA IMPLYING AND VARIOUSLY ILLUSTRATING THE PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE INTER-RELATION OF OBJECT AND SUBJECT AS GRADUALLY DETERMINED AND REDETERMINED IN THE ONE VITAL HISTORIC MOVEMENT OR PROCESS OF THE WORLD-RELIGION.

The data here meant include the sum total of the religious phenomena of the world. All these phenomena both imply and illustrate in one or more aspects the inter-relation of God and man at one or more points in the historic process of the World-religion.

PART I.

The Inter-relation of God and Man as seen in the Ideal.

This may be presented in various aspects as in the following chapters : —

CHAPTER I.

Intellectual Inter-relation as determined by ideally perfect reciprocal Self-revelations on the part of God and Man.

Outcome : Ideally perfect intellectual intercommunion of God and Man.

CHAPTER II.

Emotional Inter-relation as determined by ideally perfect reciprocal Self-revelations on the part of God and Man.

Outcome : Ideally perfect intercommunion of feeling between God and Man.

CHAPTER III.

Volitional Inter-relation as determined by ideally perfect reciprocal Self-revelations on the part of God and Man.

Outcome : Ideally perfect intercommunion of will and purpose between God and Man.

CHAPTER IV.

The Ideal Inter-relations in their vital unity.

Outcome : Since the ideally perfect Self-revelation of God culminates in a divine Incarnation, and the ideally perfect Self-revelation of Man culminates in a human Indivination, the ideally perfect Inter-relations of God and Man

in their vital unity are presented in no other religion than in the World-religion, and in no other consciousness than that of the God-man.

CHAPTER V.

Review of the Religions of the World in the light of ideally perfect religion.

PART II.

The Inter-relations of God and Man as given in Christian Consciousness.

In proportion as the self-revealing man comes to a clear perception of the self-revealing God, in like proportion does he become conscious of an inter-relation subsisting between himself and God. In case his own self-revelation is proceeding from an unholy principle, he is conscious that the relation between himself and the holy God is one of vital estrangement and opposition. On the other hand, if his own Godward bearing of mind and will and affection is the normal response of the creature to the care and benevolence and affection of his Creator, the mutual personal *Verhalten* results in a mutual personal *Verhältniss* as normal and blessed as the activities from which it proceeds and by which it is maintained. And this relationship of inter-communion and fellowship is more truly and vitally a fact of consciousness than can be a like relationship between two most intimate sharers in a human friendship.

The actual inter-relations of a particular human soul and God are normal in proportion as they approximate the above defined ideal.

The evolution of the Christian Consciousness has often been misrepresented. It is not by any means uniform with respect to origin or successional order of personal experiences and attainments of insight. It is in all cases a divine-human product, but many things are true of it in its maturity that are not true of it in earlier stages. Many teachers have failed to represent it correctly because of a failure on their part to perceive the dependence of one spiritual perception or experience upon another, or upon a preceding group. It is difficult to construct a description of the process which shall cover all cases in all stages of earthly development, but the following covers at least a

typical case, and gives due prominence to the *proportionality* of one element to another in the ever-growing result.

1. In order to the ultimate attainment of complete self-knowledge, and in order to the acquisition of the power to pass just judgments upon himself, every human being in the process of his development from infancy to maturity of reason has need of instruction from some source apart from himself.

2. In proportion as the developing human being, aided by true and wholesome instruction, becomes competent to form just judgments relative to his own physical, mental and spiritual activities and qualities, in like proportion does he come to recognize the fact that, judged even according to his own ideals, he is to a greater or less extent culpably defective and imperfect—a being who with more or less of voluntary consent, practically comes short of the possible perfections of his own life and character.

3. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being, perplexed by this discovery, struggles to comprehend the nature and implications and sanctions of his own ideals, and in conduct strives with redoubled earnestness to measure up to the best possibilities of his being, in like proportion does he become conscious of the presence and agency of an envioning Personality all perfect and holy, a God in whom he lives and moves and has his being.

4. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being attains this consciousness of God and of his own natural and personal relations to God, in like proportion does he come to perceive that his own capacities for improvement are God-given and that all instruction in or toward a holy development—whatever the name or nature or means of that instruction—is a form of Divine Revelation.

5. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being is thus brought to discern the manifoldness and continuousness of Divine Revelation, in like proportion does he come to recognize the fact that all History and all Reality are but modes of a perpetual, all-inclusive Self-Manifestation of the Divine.

6. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being is brought to this perception of the perpetually and universally progressing Self-Manifestation of God, in like proportion does he come to expect in human nature and in the human sphere possibilities and instances of divine disclosure superior to any elsewhere discoverable.

7. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being thus comes to expect in human nature the highest known or as yet knowable forms of God's Self-Manifestation, in like proportion does he reach the assured conviction that in God's eternal purpose humanity was intended to be an organ of the Divine, and that in the historic ripening of God's purpose in and through the agencies of His temporal kingdom there shall ultimately come to be a redeemed and renovated humanity, faultlessly expressive of the divine holiness, a habitation of God through the Spirit.

8. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being, inspired by such an anticipation, searches through history to discover any foretokens of this consummation of all things in a divinized humanity, and especially to discover any individuals in whom the divinizing process may seem to have been anticipated and measurably foreshown, in like proportion does he come to fix upon Jesus of Nazareth as the one man in whom the divine indwelling and outshining are apparently complete—the one man entitled to be considered an archetype of perfected humanity.

9. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being, moved by the sense of his own culpable imperfections, and by the inworkings of his divine environment, cordially surrenders himself to the divine activities and lovingly strives to become an organic yet most personal part of God's Self-Manifestation in humanity, in like proportion does he find his personal ideals, aspirations and activities coming into living conformity with those historically exemplified in Christ Jesus.

10. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being advances in this progressive conformity of ideals, aspirations and activities to the ideals, aspirations and activities of

Jesus Christ, in like proportion does he become a living and more or less conscious partaker of the Spirit of Christ, the Comforter, who, according to promise, is given to guide into all truth.

11. In proportion as the instructed and developing human being thus becomes a living and conscious partaker of Christ's Spirit, in like proportion does he become conscious of a vital personal relation to all other partakers, and to that spiritual Kingdom or Church which these, together with their Head, vitally and organically constitute in the unity of the Holy Ghost.

12. Finally, in proportion as the instructed and developing human being, in his progressive unfoldment, in one order or another, passes up through these various steps and stages of the spiritual life — and only in that proportion — does he obtain a correct, a truly rational and real insight into the nature, extent and deadliness of sin, into the nature and need of an atonement, into the beauty of holiness, into the conscious blessedness of the life in God and of the life in the everlasting fellowship of God's children.

To the foregoing theses every Christian teacher in the world can consistently and cordially subscribe. And whoever in his own experience has come to all the insights above mentioned, and lives in the light of them, is certainly to be called a Christian. But a Christian of the broadest and most radical character cannot rest at this point. He finds in these propositions no consistent and satisfying philosophy of three fundamental Christian truths, to wit: (1) the universality of human sin; (2) the sinlessness of Jesus Christ; and (3) the unity of that God into whose three divine names each Christian, in professing his faith, must be baptized. The great mass of thoughtful and earnest Christians, therefore, reach, and in all past Christian centuries have reached, additional convictions and insights on these points. But here, as before, the law under which insight is gained is a law of proportion, a law which may be approximately expressed in the three following propositions: —

1. In proportion as the instructed and developing Christian learns to recognize the real solidarity of all naturally engendered

human individuals, and their ideal solidarity in the one primal purpose and plan of the Creator to constitute them together one vitally interwoven, organic species or form of divine Self-Manifestation, in like proportion does he come to the perception that a free and thorough-going self-closure of the first human beings to divine influence through sin could not fail to entail upon propagated human nature blindnesses and blights as far-reaching as the line of human generations, — a self-centredness of heart and will as hateful as hate and as deadly as death ; and that, philosophically considered, the universality of sin in the experience of all peoples and ages must find its deepest, its most rational explanation in the Biblical doctrine of a primeval Fall of Man.

2. In proportion as the instructed and developing Christian comes to see in and back of all individual sin a universally transmitted, everywhere present race-characteristic — an inbred self-centredness of will and affection which, so long as unchecked by outside powers, effectually disqualifies the individual and the race for their normal function of receiving and joyously manifesting forth the indwelling of Divinity, in like proportion does he come to the perception that the supreme need of fallen humanity can have been no other than a creative re-opening of itself to the divine incoming, and that the Incarnation, or better the *Menschwerdung*, of God's Eternal Son, and the Mission of the Comforter, constitute, as the New Testament teaches, the one all-sufficient and most gracious response of God to this necessity of his human creatures.

3. In proportion as the instructed and developing Christian, pondering the mysteries of speculative Theism and the relieving disclosures of Biblical Revelation comes to apprehend, on the one hand, the inconceivableness of a unipersonal Absolute, and on the other the triunity of the historic Self-Manifestation of God in and through the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, in like proportion will his strained and almost baffled mind find growing relief and restful delight and holy confidence in some approximation, if not in full adhesion to some form of the general Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

The above statements illustrate not only the growth of the Christian Consciousness, but also the fluency and growthfulness of the inter-relations of the soul and God.

A full presentation of the Philosophy of the Christian Consciousness would require the elaboration of at least the following chapters:—

CHAPTER I.

Of Consciousness in general, and the self-evident Validity of its Deliverances.

CHAPTER II.

The Legitimacy, Indispensableness and Scientific Value of the Testimony of Consciousness in the realm of subjective religious Activities and Results.

CHAPTER III.

The Contents of the genuinely Christian Consciousness.

CHAPTER IV.

Conceivability and Credibility of a concurrent divine and human witnessing to a lost, and to a re-established personal Fellowship between the Soul and God.

CHAPTER V.

The absolutely verifying Force of the Testimony of the Christian Consciousness when individually and actually possessed.

CHAPTER VI.

The necessary Skepticism, or Liability to Skepticism, of all Souls not possessed of the self-evidencing light of Consciousness touching personal Fellowship with God.

CHAPTER VII.

The Christian Consciousness of the Individual as related to the larger Christian Consciousness of the true Church of Christ.

PART III.

The Inter-relations of God and Man as determined and ever re-determined in the historic life of the World-religion.

The Inter-relations of God and Humanity in history have never for two successive moments remained fixed and unaltered. Since their beginning the flow of God's Self-revelation and the

flow of Man's Self-revelation have been incessant. With each new heart-beat Humanity itself becomes other than it was. Equally mutable and transmutable must be that vital relationship in which and under which the twain activities, divine and human, endlessly persist.

Whoever in his own personal consciousness has known the abnormal relationship of blind personal hostility to God, and now in his own consciousness knows the blessedness of an established and ever-growing fellowship with God, has little difficulty with the problems of Humanity's religious history. His own childhood typifies to him the childhood of his race. His own debasing paganisms fully interpret to him the most debasing paganisms of mankind. Himself miraculously new-born of God, the miraculous birth at Bethlehem is more than credible. Himself possessor of the Holy Comforter, the spiritual history of the living Church would be to him a mystery but for its outstart from a world-historic Pentecost.

Again, to such a man philosophies of history that ignore or reject the Divine factor are self-refuted in advance. He sees that in proportion as the Divine co-efficient is overlooked the human is misconceived and distorted. History being the result of Divine activity in and through men, and at the same time of men's activity in and through Deity, a consistently atheistic philosophy of history is as little conceivable as is a consistently ananthropistic.

The normal inter-relations of God and man being found only in those souls in which the divine-human fellowship and life have been re-established, it is only natural that the true knowledge of these inter-relations is found only with these souls and with those whom they have instructed. Furthermore it is only natural that all those who hold this knowledge merely as a matter of instruction, should hold it as they hold other matters of human testimony, that is, not as genuine knowledge, but at best only as a theoretical and more or less questionable belief.

The genuine knowledge of the normal divine and human relationship is alone with them that stand in it and stand in it consciously. The majority of them are dwelling in the heavenly places. Even with these it is a growing knowledge.

From the days of the God-man the World-religion has been teaching that there has been in the progress of history a certain succession of exceptionally important modifications in the Inter-relations of God and Humanity. As this teaching constitutes the philosophy of Humanity's history according to the World-religion, it well deserves attention. The following enumeration presents the view, not only as it is in itself, but also as it stands related to a larger conception of the total history of the moral universe : —

I. The absolutely primal Inter-relations of God and moral creatures anterior to all creaturely self-revelation in consciously and purposely good or evil self-assertion. (Monergistically and divinely determined. Not so much prehistoric, as history-initiating).

II. These Inter-relations as modified in a pre-human world-æon, partly by creaturely self-revelation in consciously and purposely good and evil self-assertion, and partly by new forms of divine self-revelation appropriate to these creaturely self-revelations in good and evil. (So conceived the new inter-relations would have to be described as synergistically determined. Moreover, the creaturely contribution toward their determination would have to be conceived of as antithetically dual, that of evil creaturely co-efficients and that of the good.)

III. These Inter-relations as modified by the introduction of two race-bearing and race-representing creatures, of more than angelic possibilities, parents of unknown millions of moral creatures, proprietors of a world requiring ages for its roughest exploration, bearers of a divine image that was capable of becoming endlessly more divine, types and progenitors of a Seed in whom all the fulness of the Godhead should bodily dwell. Here, anterior to any conscious Godward self-revelation of these human creatures, we have the earliest inter-relations of God and Humanity. (As before, in the earlier beginning, they were divinely determined, independent of any agency of the newly created ; but that they were divinely determined irrespective of earlier and contemporary non-human moral creatures and of

their contribution to the quality and possibilities of the moral universe at the time, is theistically unthinkable.)

IV. The same Inter-relations as modified in the pre-Christian world-æon partly by human self-revelation in consciously and purposely good and evil self-assertion, and partly by new forms of divine self-revelation appropriate to these human self-revelations in good and evil. (Increased complexity of co-efficients, the human self-revelation both in evil and in good having been initially facilitated by pre-human and extra-human creaturely agency.)

V. The same Inter-relations as modified by the Incarnation of the Son of God and the Indivination of the Son of Man. (Increasing complexity of co-efficients; even the Divine factor manifesting a trinally self-differentiated activity.)

VI. The same Inter-relations as modified by the progressive incorporation of the Spirit of the God-man in believing Humanity in earthly places, and the progressive excorporation of believing Humanity in the same Spirit into the heavenly places. (Present post-Pentecostal world-æon. Co-efficients: . divine, hypostatic and monontologic; theanthropic; angelic, beneficent and maleficent; human, evil and good,—each creaturely class, moreover, in “numbers without number.”)

VII. The same Inter-relations as yet to be remodified at the close of the present world-æon, when in the presence of the whole moral universe the re-embodied Race of God-imaging men, complete in all its members and now forever past all further self-multiplication, shall stand for the first time self-revealed in and before its self-revealed Author, and both, conscious of a oneness which neither life nor death eternal can destroy, face the unpicturable experiences of the endless Beyond.

To us, catechumens in the World-religion, this Philosophy of World-history seems difficult and high. Be it so. But a few more moons and we may study it under larger horizons, in manifest presence of Him who Himself was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen and Amen.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE FOREGOING TEXT.

1. What classes of religious phenomena are mentioned by De la Saussaye in what he calls the Phenomenological Section of his "Science of Religion" ? Pp. 67-242.

2. In his "Evolution of Religion," vol i. pp. 40-47, what does Edward Caird say on the definition of Religion ?

COLLATERAL READING AND STUDY.

The Study of Religions being a Three-hour Course with but two Class-hours per week, the amount of required collateral reading and writing is exceptional. Fortnightly reports are to be made according to the form on the last pages of this volume.

The following books (or their specified alternates) are as a rule to be read by the whole class. The numbers in brackets are their shelf numbers in the Public Library. Nearly all are in the Library of the School, others in the General Theological Library, and a number may well be purchased by the student. They should be so divided and arranged as to be finished before the Easter holidays.

Sayce, *The Hibbert Lectures for 1887*. London 1887. [3491.69, or K. 156.2].

Or, Z. A. Ragozin, *The Story of Chaldea*. London and New York, 1886. [940.28 or 3077.82].

Geo. Rawlinson, *The Story of Phoenicia*. London and New York, 1889. [3044.101].

Stobart, *Islam and its Founder*. London and New York, 1877, [5489a.58].

Or, E. Sell, *the Faith of Islam*. London, 1882. [5481.55].

Renouf, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*. London and New York, 1880. [5483.52].

James Legge, *The Religions of China*. [Spring Lectures]. London, 1880. [5489a.81, or 5489a.86].

Or, R. K. Douglas, *Confucianism and Tauism*. London, 1879. [5489a.77].

A. Barth, *The Religions of India*. London, 1881. [5483.6].

Or, Monier-Williams, *Hinduism*. London and New York, 1879. [5489a.56].

Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*. New York, 1889. [3495.60].

Or, T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*. London and New York, 1879. [5489a.51].

E. De Pressensé, *The Ancient World and Christianity*. New York, 1888. [3521.73].

Or, Chapters XVI and XVII of Menzies, *History of Religion*.

R. Keyser, *The Religion of the Northmen*. New York, 1864. [6072.19, or 6072.20].

Or, Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology*. London, 1889. [3496.73].

- J. Rhys, Hibbert Lectures for 1886. [Lectures I. and VI.] London, 1888. [3491.77].
- A. Reville, The Hibbert Lectures for 1884. [Mexico and Peru]. N. Y., 1884. [3490a.54].
- Chapters XXXIV. and XXXV. in Quatrefages, The Human Species, N. Y., 1879. [3829.71, or 3879.73].
- Parts IV., V., VI., of Warren's Paradise Found; A Study of the Pre-historic World. [6236.57].
- B. P. Bowne, Philosophy of Theism. N. Y., 1887. [3584.73].
- Or, Bowne, Studies in Theism. N. Y., 1882. [5603.71].

The following are Books to be Consulted.

The Sacred Books of the East. Edited by Professor Max Müller. Oxford [Bates Hall Reading Room].—Records of the Past. London. New Series [3049.100].—Schrader, The Cuneiform Inscriptions and Old Testament. London. 2 Vols. [3420.68].—Clarke, Ten Great Religions. 2 Vols. [7487.8].—Hardwick, Christ and Other Masters [5446.15].—World's Parliament of Religions [*3522.107].—Religious Systems of the World [3494.69].—St. Giles Lectures [5484.56] also [5526.69.2].—Max Müller, Essays and other writings. Reville, Prolegomena to the History of Religions [3490a.70].—A. S. Farrar, A Critical History of Free Thought. Comparing therewith Vols. 1st and 2d of Pfeiderer's Philosophy of Religion. Edinburgh 1887 [3600a.21].—H. Spencer, Descriptive Sociology. London [*3560.50] and New York, 8 vols. [*3560.51].—Pünjer, History of the Christian Philosophy of Religion [German, 7602.66].

Periodicals to be Consulted.

Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology. London. The Babylonian and Oriental Record. London. Journal of the American Oriental Society [*4244.7].—The American Journal of Archæology.—Journal of the Victoria Institute. London [*3227.5].—Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Paris [*5436.51].—Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.—Revue des Religions [Rom. Catholic].—Annales du Musée Guimet [*3490.55].—Journal Asiatique [*3327.50].—Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements. London [*5077.50].—Egypt Exploration Fund Reports. London [*3040a.117].—Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. Leipzig [*5074.60].—Biblia. Meriden, Conn.—The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review.

SPECIMEN TOPICS FOR CLASS PAPERS.

In each case, where practicable, the student is expected to prefix to his paper a formal list of the best sources he has found for the investigation of his subject, and an enumeration of all previous discussions of it known to him.

1. Classify and briefly describe the thus far issued volumes of the "Sacred Books of the East."

2. Antediluvian Religion according to the most ancient traditions of mankind. Reasonable inferences therefrom.

3. Wherein does Fetishism agree with, and wherein differ from, such idolatry as was practised by the Greeks at the time of the advent of Christ.

4. Reasons in view of which Totemism may be held to belong to a lower stage of human thought than Fetishism. (Or, if preferred: What arguments will render it probable that Fetishism is a degenerate and retrograde form of religion and not at the same time render it probable that Totemism is?)

5. Reasons for and against the notion, that the earliest form of religion was identical either (1) with one of the forms found among modern savages; or (2) with a form found by combining all the common features of the savage religions and leaving out of view peculiarities not found in all of the class.

6. Clearly weak or questionable points in the representation of the Earliest Religion of the Semites in the writings of Robertson Smith.

7. Character of Anu and his relation to the other gods of Babylonia according to the original texts. (Begin by looking up each reference under the term "Anu" in the index to Maspero's Dawn of Civilization; then read with care fuller translations of the texts.)

8. Monotheistic expressions and implications in the Shi-king. (See "God" in the index to Legge's Chinese Classics. Vol. iv, pts. 1 and 2, at p. 659.)

9. Reasons for and against the opinion that the first author of any particular myth about the gods, as, e.g., that of the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, or that of Shu uplifting the body of Nut, really believed that the story he told represented a literal fact of divine history.

10. Reasons for and against the idea that Human Sacrifice was a constituent part of the earliest form of religion. Inferences.

11. Which is the more probable, that ordinary cannibalism arose from a preexisting habit of offering to the gods human sacrifices; or that human sacrifices resulted from preexisting cannibalism; or that each arose independently of the other? Reasons for your conclusions.

12. Carefully define Animal Worship and present the reasons for and against the idea that it was the earliest form of religion.

13. Reasons for and against the idea that Ancestor- and Ghost-worship was the earliest form of religion. (See Herbert Spencer and his critics.)

14. Were we to admit that in their day all the gods of the polytheistic peoples really existed, to what extent would this require us to modify our conceptions of God, of the spirit-world, of man, and of history?

15. Define Devil-Worship, and discuss the leading theories of its origin, diffusion and maintenance.

16. Mythical Descents to Hades. A comparative study.

17. Mythical Ascents to Heaven, beginning with that of Adapa to the heaven of Anu. What light do they throw on the geographical and cosmological ideas of the ancients?

18. What facts set forth in John O'Neill's *Night of the Gods* [3601. 123] tell in favor of the theory of the North-polar origin of the Human Race? What, if any, against it?

19. The Salvability of Pagans according to the Westminster Assembly, and according to Fletcher of Madeley (Works, vol. iii, pp. 166-197).

20. Sin viewed from the standpoint of the polytheist, the pantheist, and the Christian theist. See Julius Müller, *et al.*

21. Wherein agree and differ

Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World and Butler's Analogy.

22. To what extent do Tennyson, Robert Browning and Sidney Lanier agree in their representation of Christ, and of Man's need of him?

23. Proper Attitude of the Christian Missionary over against native adherents to the "Doomed Religion."

24. Prepare a list of "books of reference," then ten or more vital questions, some of them with brief answers of your own, all arranged so as to present a "Specimen Study" of the religion of the pre-Christian Hawaiians, after the general plan of those presented in print in your notebook.

25. Considerations showing the comparative meaninglessness of a "divine" incarnation in any system in which the incarnated "god" may have been a man, or even a beast, or a reptile before becoming "divine." For illustrations see Hindu mythology and the Buddhistic "Birth-Stories" (Jataka).

26. Compare the Mohammedan and the Mormon teaching respecting the new dispensation of the kingdom of God, which they respectively profess to represent.

27. Name and briefly describe Max Müller's different works on Religion. (Not forgetting his article, "Why I am not an Agnostic," in the *Nineteenth Century*, for December 1894.)

28. The Gammadion (Swastica) :

Theories of its origin and significance. See Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migrations of Symbols* [3484.101], and O'Neill, *Night of the Gods* [3601.123].

29. An imaginary Conversation between Socrates and Sakyamuni the evening before the death of the former.

30. History of learned opinion as to Zoroaster.

31. Just and unjust criticisms of Arnold's "Light of Asia."

32. Agnosticism. See late utterances by Huxley, Leslie Stephen, Wace, Mallock, Spencer, Romanes, Balfour, Bowne, etc.

33. How Religious Ideas have affected custom in the disposal of the bodies of the dead.

34. Attempted Reform Movements in Judaism since the destruction of the temple and Holy City.

35. Origin, history and religious significance of the Oracle of Delphi.

36. Progress of Theistic Thought since Kant.

37. What was the significance and probable influence of the controversy between Frederic Harrison and Herbert Spencer touching the Nature and Reality of Religion. See [3590a.62] and [3590a.69].

38. Eschatology of the Greek Tragedians compared with that of Homer.

39. Give an account of Cicero's tractate "*De Divinatione*," with translations of important key-statements,

and an estimate of its probable effect upon readers in Cicero's days.

40. The cosmography of Buddhism compared and contrasted with that of Brahmanism. With illustrative drawings. — See Spence Hardy, Ward, Paradise Found, etc.

41. The Religion of the Druses and its representation in Browning's poem "The Return of the Druses."

42. What Plato thought of Greek Mythology.

43. Compare and contrast original Buddhism and Fourierism.

44. Compare and contrast Bábism and original Shakerism. See writings of Edward G. Browne and authorized doctrinal publications of the Shakers.

45. In what points did the religions of the ancient Persians and Romans most resemble each other; and in what most differ?

46. Compare and contrast the Angelogy and Demonology of the Koran and of the Roman Catholic Church.

47. Wherein differs the Buddhism of Japan from original Buddhism? See *inter al.* Griffis [3487.126], and Oldenberg [3484.72].

48. Compare and contrast the views of John Wesley and of Jonathan Edwards touching the highest form of Religious Experience.

49. Criticisms of Pfeleiderer in Rauwenhoff's *Religionsphilosophie*.

50. Reasons adduced by Kern and others for considering the legend-

ary Life of Buddha merely a version of the Solar Myth.

51. The various Conceptions of Human Pre-existence.

52. Was the Papal doctrine of purgatory of extra-Christian Origin?

53. "The Religion of Humanity" as presented by Comte and as elaborated by Frederic Harrison.

54. The doctrine of the Resurrection in ethnic Religions.

55. The theological development of John Wesley.

56. The "Prayer-Gauge" challenge and the best responses thereto.

57. Egyptian Cosmology. (See Question under "Specimen Studies — Egypt.")

58. Are cases of demoniacal possession still found in heathen communities? See *inter al.* Nevins [5606.30].

59. Paul Regnaud's theory of the Origin of Religion from a primeval habit of kindling household fires with an inflammable oil. (Les premieres Formes de la Religion et de la Tradition dans l'Inde et la Grèce. Paris, 1894.)

60. The Sibylline Books.

61. Varuna and Shang-ti. The Heaven-god of the Chinese and that of the ancestors of the Hindus compared.

62. Significance of Jainism for the understanding of Buddhism.

63. Celibacy from religious motives in the non-Christian Religions.

(First consult H. C. Lea's "History of Sacerdotal Celibacy" [5516.71].)

64. The gods Shu and Ninib. A comparative study.

65. The approaches and recessions of *δαμόνιον* and *θειόν* in meaning, in the history of Greek literature and philosophy.

66. Is Phallicism, among the Hindus, a part of their religion, or rather of their irreligion? Principles for the determining of such questions.

67. Inferences from the Scatological Rites of various nations. J. G. Bourke. [* * 2235.117.]

68. Theories of Mythogony.

69. Origin and teachings of the *Adi-Granth*. (Sacred book of the Sikhs.)

70. Nature and Signification of the differences between "High Mass" in the Papal Church and the corresponding service in the Oriental Churches of the Greek Rite.

71. Extant Organs and Organizations of Theosophists.

72. What light, if any, does the *De Anima* of Aristotle throw upon the *Ka* conception of the ancient Egyptians?

73. Just and unjust Criticisms upon Hegel's Philosophy of Religion.

74. Latest French works on the Origin, Essence and historical Development of Religion.

75. Latest German works on the Origin, Essence, and historical Development of Religion.

SPECIMEN STUDIES.

I.

THE RELIGION OF THE BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS HISTORICALLY, SYSTEMATICALLY, AND PHILOSOPHICALLY CONSIDERED.

Books of Reference: Records of the Past. New Series.—Works of Sayce, Lenormant, George Smith, Boscawen, Theodore Pinches, Henry C. Rawlinson, Fritz Hommel, Paul Haupt, C. F. Tiele, Friedrich Delitzsch, Schrader, Jensen, etc.—More popular: Budge, Wm. Hayes Ward, and Madame Ragozin.—Morris Jastrow, Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.—J. F. McCurdy, History, Prophecy and the Monuments. [2293.111].—Sayce, Higher Criticism and the Monuments. [3425.108].—W. St. Chad Boscawen, The Bible and the Monuments. 1895.—Geo. Rawlinson, Ancient Religions.—Tiele, History of Religion.—De la Saussaye, The Science of Religion.—Ancient Histories of Duncker, Meyer, Rawlinson.—For illustrations of art, etc.: Perrot and Chipiez. [*8084.50.2]. Also, Maspero, Dawn of Civilization. [3052.141].—Articles in best late Encyclopædias.—Best chronological list of publications on Babylonia and Assyria to be found in Kaulen, Assyrien und Babylonien. 4th ed. 1891. [5055.82].

QUESTION 1.—Where have you read the fullest late account of this Land and People?

QU. 2.—Where have you found the most helpful (a) historical maps; (b) topographical charts; (c) illustrations of divinities, temples, etc.?

QU. 3.—What difficulties connected with the study are enumerated by Sayce in his Hibbert Lectures? (pp. 1-38). What advantages? (pp. 38-84).

Qu. 4. — To what scholars is the credit of recovering the language chiefly due?

Qu. 5. — What was the first modern theory as to the history of this religion, and how has it been revolutionized? Summarize from Sayce, H. L., pp. 18-24.

QU. 6. — In the study of our proximate sources what caution is needful ?

ANSWER. Many recent writers upon this religion proceed upon a wholly unproven assumption, to wit, that from the beginning there was a steady advance in religious ideas, and that the farther back we go the ruder and cruder were these ideas. On this principle, Lenormant considered all the

magical texts as antedating the more rational and truly religious hymns to the gods. On the same ground, a penitential psalm, or a litany, showing a deep sense of sin, was supposed to belong of necessity to the latest period. On the first point, Professor Sayce has felt compelled to confess that Lenormant was hasty and mistaken. On page 322 he expressly says: "The fact that one text is magical while another contains a hymn to the deity does not itself prove the relative ages of the two documents." Equally groundless is Sayce's own procedure when he sees in every sacred animal the survival of a totem, a relic of the age of bygone savagery. It would be far more just, to reason by analogy from the case of contemporaneous Egypt, and to say that like as the Sphinx and other animal-forms and pictographs among the early Egyptians were certainly symbolical, so the winged bulls and other sacred animal-forms of the Babylonians and Assyrians were also symbolical. Moreover, as the oldest Egyptian literature shows that their early conception of God was far purer than those which they entertained at a later period, it is certainly allowable to inquire whether it may not have been the same in the Tiro-Euphratean basin. And, if we make this inquiry, we may be led to conclusions exactly contrary to the assumption of most writers upon this religion. Indeed, when Sayce says "the Akkadian divinity was the Creator," while the Semitic Bel was a begetter (p. 333; compare also pp. 143, 367, and 368), we see that the transit from Akkadian ideas to Semitic ones, was a downward step from a monotheistic to a polytheistic standpoint. This corresponds with what we should expect from the contact of the less civilized Semite with the more civilized Akkadian. Even the lowest magical conjurations of the latter continually refer to a "Spirit of Heaven" and "Spirit of the Earth" superior to all the dreaded demons of disease and death.

The whole representation of the development of the religion given in such passages as pages 344-368 in Sayce is, therefore, capable of a radical reconstruction. Superstition and ignorance were found at every stage of the history of this people, but to assume that the ideas of creatorship, sin, forgiveness, immortality, etc., were late products of religious speculation and religious development, is contrary to the evidence, and contrary to the analogies of other most ancient peoples.

Some writers, following Lenormant, and apparently without his respect for the historic element in the Babylonian myths, reduce the story of Gilgames (the name was formerly given as Izdubar or Gisdubar), — to a pure product of the imagination, a solar myth (Ragozin, *Chaldæa*, pp. 318-322). Tiele and others have inclined to the same fashionable theory, which, in the hands of such mythologists as G. W. Cox, resolves all mythical heroes into differing forms of the sun-god. In this case the only evidence in favor of such a theory is found in the names and order of the signs of the zodiac in Babylonian Astronomy. But even Lenormant saw in these signs, survivals of a most ancient belief in a truly historic and real deluge, to wit, that described in Genesis; and if this be admitted, and if the names of the twelve

divisions of the zodiac were intentionally commemorative of that catastrophe, the ground of the sun-myth theory is so transformed that the annual journey of the sun from mansion to mansion around the zodiac becomes a memorial journey, — a rehearsal before all eyes, of one of the most stupendous chapters in human history. See “Star-story of the Flood,” *Zion’s Herald*, September 26, 1888.

Qu. 7. — In the poem relating to Gilgames, what other personages are associated with him? See Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 574–590, 601, etc.

Qu. 8. — With what Semitic king does Chaldæan history begin, and how has his date been determined? *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., pp. 1–11. Sayce, H. L., pp. 21–24.

Qu. 9. — Into what six periods may the total history of this religion be divided?

ANSWER. — 1. The period anterior to Sargon I, a mighty king of Accad, who conquered a vast realm including Elam on the east, and Palestine, and even the island of Cyprus, on the west. The beginning of his fifty-five years' reign is placed by Sayce at 3750 or 3800 B.C. Monumental relics of this period are those unearthed by Sarzec at Tel-loh in 1881, and since. The kings of Shirpurla, the city of which Tel-loh is the modern name, are placed by all authorities as far back as B.C. 4000. See *Records of the Past*, vol. i, p. 6. The evidences of their advanced civilization and extended commerce have amazed the archæologists. Gudea, the best known of these rulers, seems to have had commercial intercourse by sea with Egypt. See *Records of the Past*, vol. i, pp. 42-63. Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 595-620.

2. The period from Sargon to the establishment of the dynasty headed by Sumer-abi at Babylon, B.C. 2394. In this period the most important and best attested fact is that Naram-Sin, the son and successor of Sargon, added to his father's extended empire the Sinaitic peninsula, and had land communication with Egypt.

3. The period of Babylonian supremacy from 2394 to about 1300 B.C. The Sixth of this Dynasty was the conquering Khammur-agas or Hammur-abi, who reigned 2282 B.C., and who but a short time ago was erroneously supposed to have been the first to make the city of Babylon a royal capital.

4. The period of Assyrian supremacy, from 1300 B.C. until 625 B.C. Of the Assyrian kings, Nineveh was the residential capital. In the Assyrian language, the name of the country of the Assyrians was written Aššūr. The name of their supreme god Ašūr. Assurbanipal, whose royal library under the ruins of Nineveh has afforded us most of our knowledge of this ancient literature, was one of the last of the ruling line. Under the second or third of his successors the allied Medes and Babylonians led by Cyaxares the Mede, destroyed Nineveh so thoroughly as not only to fulfil the prophecy of Nahum in a most striking manner, but also to cause the very site of the ruins to be forgotten for two and a half milleniums. Respecting the fall of Assyria, see *Records of the Past*, preface to vol. iv, pp. 7-13.

5. The period of restored Babylonian empire, from B.C. 625 until the conquest of the whole valley by Cyrus the Great, 539 B.C. The chief figure in this period is Nebuchadnezzar, a son-in-law of Cyaxares; the most famous and dramatic event, the fall of Babylon. See *Daniel*, ch. v.

6. Period of decline and dissolution from that time onward.

Should anyone hesitate to accept the high antiquity now ascribed to Sargon, it will help his difficulty to remember that the Akkadian astronomy was

already ancient in the day of Sargon (see Sayce, p. 30), and that from internal evidence it is highly probable that the primeval Akkadian astronomers invented the zodiac and named its signs as early as 4700 B.C. See Sayce, pp. 397, 398. Compare also Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 246 ff. Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy* [*3922.105]. Quentin, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, tom. xxxi, pp. 169 ff. Also, O. D. Miller, *Har-Moad*.

QU. 10. — Give the oldest Chaldæo-Assyrian names for God.

ANSWER. — The Akkadian word for God was Anna or Ana, and it was indeclinable except that the full form of the plural was Anap or Anab. The corresponding Semitic was Il, plural Ili, or Ilim, like the Hebrew El, Elohim. The cuneiform character for the singular in each case was written thus :

Another old Babylonian word for the same idea is Ra. The term is seen only in composition, for example, in the names of Babylon. Thus in the Semitic it was Bab-il, the Gate of God. But in the Akkadian it was Ka-Ra ; Ka signifying gate, and Ra, God. Another name of the same city was Ka-Dingi-Ra which means Gate of the mighty God ; or, as Sayce gives it, Gate of the Creator God. *The being to whom these names were applied was conceived of as unoriginated.*

QU. 11. — What other proofs of early monotheism among this people may be mentioned?

ANSWER. — A very interesting survival is found in the use of Il in the formation of early compound names. The second name in the first Babylonian dynasty is thus compounded. Boscawen, in his article on "Early Semitic Names," in the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, Vol. III, Numbers 10 and 12, gives many interesting examples from a period more than 2300 years before Christ.

In the *Records of the Past*, Mr. Pinches, chief Assyriologist of the British Museum, gives the translation of the Assyrian royal proclamation supposed to have been addressed by Assurbanipal of Nineveh to his subjects in Babylon, wherein the King, in language which would have been appropriate in the mouth of the prophet Jonah, entreats them "not to commit a sin before God," — a sin touching a covenant, which he says is "before God." In the same proclamation he swears by his gods Asshur and Merodach ; but in the passages just referred to, as the translator says, "It is as if at the time he was writing these words the One-God idea was uppermost in his mind." Mr. Pinches adds, "This was probably the result of a feeling inherited from the time when monotheism more or less pure was the possession of the Semitic race, or at least of that portion to which the Semitic Babylonians, Assyrians, and the Israelites belong."

QU. 12. — Name the so-called Great Gods of the later Pantheon ; indicating also their consorts, and chief sanctuaries.

ANSWER. — At an early date, though in which of the above-named periods we cannot tell, it appears that the sacerdotal schools elaborated a curious astrological and mathematical classification of the so-called Great Gods, which, while we may not feel at all certain of fully understanding, will yet be found a serviceable aid to the memory. It consists of two triads and one pentad.

THE GREAT GODS OF BABYLONIA ASTROLOGICALLY
ARRANGED.

First Triad.

The names and titles in parentheses are Akkadian.

- ANU (Ana). Source of all other divine beings.
 Anat. (Nana). Sanctuary at Erech.
 HEA (Hea or Ea). Son of Anu. Father of Silik-mulu-ki.
 Davkina (Dav-kina). Sanctuary at Eridu.
 BEL (Mul-lil. En-ki. Irkalla). Son or brother of Anu.
 Belit (Nin-ge or Nin-ki). Sanctuary at Nippur.

Second Triad.

- SIN (Inzu or Agu). Moon-god, son of Mul-ge, Lord of Growth.
 "The Great Lady." (Name not yet phonetically determined.) Sanctuary at Ur.
 RAMANU (Mer-mer or Meru). God of the air and wind. Son of Anu.
 Name also rendered Ao, Ben or Bin, Im or Iva, Pur, Phul or Vul, Rimmon, Uban, Yav, Yen, Yiv.
 Sala or Tala. Sanctuary at Muru.
 SAMAS or Shamas. (San, Barbar, Ud). The Sun-god, son of Sin.
 Gula (Gula). Later (?). Anuit. Sanctuary at Larsa ; with Anuit at Sippara.

The Pentad.

- ADAR (Nin-dar or Nin-ib). Saturn. A manifestation of Anu.
 Belit, represented sometimes as mother, sometimes as wife. Sanctuary
 ? ? ? ?
 MERODACH (Amar-utuki). Jupiter. A form of Bel.
 Zir-banit, Zarpanit. Sanctuary at Babylon.
 NERGAL (Ner-uru-gal). Mars. Paternity undetermined.
 Laz. Sanctuary at Cutha.

ISTAR (Sukus). Venus.

Dumuzi Thammuz. Son of Ea and Davkina. Sun-god of Eridu. Sanctuaries numerous.

NEBO (Ok? Paku). Mercury. A form of Ea, or son of Anu.

Tasmit (Varamit). Sanctuary at Borsippa.

QU. 13.—What appears to have been the origin of this highly artificial polytheistic system?

ANSWER.—That the primeval Akkadians conceived of Dingi-Ra as personal, and as the Supreme God, is conceded even by Tiele (*History of Religion*, p. 74). When, however, they conceived of him in his relations to the different parts of the universe, they gave him different titles expressive of these relations. Thus, as God of the highest heavens he was called Ana, which conveyed the idea of the Lofty, the Most High. Considered in his relations to the atmosphere and the world-surrounding waters, he was called Hea, or Ea.¹ In his relations to the earth and the under-world beneath the earth, he was called Mul-ge, or Mul-lil, which simply means, Lord of the earth. It would appear that in process of time, with the gradual loss of the realization of the unity of the one Supreme God, these and other names and titles came to be conceived of as representing different gods having different jurisdictions, attributes and functions. It is very much as if a Roman Catholic population, lapsing into ignorance of their own church history and art, should come to think of Mater Dolores, Madonna Incoronata, Mater Amabilis, Regina Cœli or, better yet, the different miracle-working images of the Madonna known by these names at different shrines, as different beings to be worshipped as such. Moreover, as in this case, such a change would be much facilitated by the fact that in the pictures and images of the blessed Virgin in these different characters, her attributes and symbols and looks are different, and different according to fixed traditional art rules, and according to local traditions; so the like custom of the earliest Babylonians to represent Almighty God, Dingi-Ra, under different symbols or forms, according to the title under which in a particular temple he was worshipped, would render it all the easier for the common people, and indeed for all, to forget the divine unity and to personify or hypostisize his names, titles and images. Furthermore, as soon as a divine title or image had thus become transformed into a distinct divine being, his attributes and titles could in turn give rise to a new brood, and so on. So well was this danger understood by the learned, even among this people, that in more than one case an Assyrian editor of an older Akkadian poem, has taken pains to guard the reader against a similar error by stating that all the divine names in it were but titles of one and the same god. (See George Smith's *Chaldæan Genesis*, second ed., pp. 76-78.

¹“So far as can be discovered, Poseidon was originally Zeus himself in a particular aspect.”
MAX DUNCKER. Similar illustrations abound.

Records of the Past, vol. i, pp. 60, 61 ; vol. ii, p. 183). Now to these divinities thus originated, there were soon mythologically given appropriate consorts and children ; and thus the gods and lower spirits so multiplied that, at a comparatively early period, we find mention of the " fifty great gods." Elsewhere we find reference to the " three hundred spirits of heaven," and the " six hundred spirits of earth." Later yet, as we learn from the inscription of Sardanapalus upon the great bulls in the British Museum, the whole number of gods in heaven and earth was held to be 4000. In another inscription, we read of 5000 ; in still another, of 65,000.

QU. 14. — What appears to have been the cosmological views formed by this ancient people ?

ANSWER. — The cosmology of the ancient Chaldæans has not yet been fully recovered. In " Paradise Found " may be seen the most complete interpretation obtainable at the time of its publication in 1885. The fundamental points of this interpretation are as follows :

1. The earth of the ancient Chaldæans was not flat but spheroidal. (See pp. 163, 164.)
2. The south polar sky was said to under-arch the abode of the dead, as the north polar sky over-arches the abode of the living. (Pp. 482, 483.)
3. The Chaldæan earth presented two antipodal mountains ; the mountain of the gods, and the mountain of the demons. (P. 123, footnote.)
4. The first of these mountains was situated in the highest North.
 - a. No evidence that it was in the East or North-east, as sometimes stated. (P. 127 ; also 483, third footnote.)
 - b. The embarrassments of Lenormant from making the earth of the Chaldæans hollow at the South pole. (P. 115.)
 - c. Isaiah (xiv : 13) places this mountain in the highest North. See the " Excursus " of Delitzsch.
 - d. The heavens rested on and revolved around it. (Pp. 126, 167.)
 - e. The analogy of other ancient cosmologies, — Egyptian, Iranian, Hindu, etc. (Pp. 169, 171 ; 257 footnote, 123 footnote.)

Though some of these features were at the time novel, all discoveries and new studies of the subject since that time have either confirmed or tended to confirm them. Professor Sayce, who previously had always distinguished in Babylonian mythology the so-called " mountain of sunset " and " mountain of sunrise," locating one in the east and the other in the west of the Babylonian horizon, now agrees that the poets using these terms probably looked upon the mountain behind which the sun rose and set as one and the same. See Hibbert Lectures, p. 361. This gives us the one " World-mountain " described in Paradise Found, pp. 123, 137. He has not attempted, however, here or elsewhere, to give his readers a complete view of the cosmos as conceived of by the ancient Babylonians. From his obscure and discon-

nected cosmological remarks on pp. 116, 117, 238, 239, 357, 359-366, it is quite impossible to construct such a view.

The most important treatise upon this general subject in any language is the elaborate and costly work by Jensen, entitled "Die Kosmologie der Babylonier," Strasburg, 1890. In the more than five hundred and sixty octavo pages of this book we find discussed nearly every cosmological term and passage thus far discovered in ancient Babylonian texts. The writer correctly ascribes to this ancient people a high degree of astronomical knowledge. Not only does he credit them with the invention of the zodiac, and with a clear discrimination of the planets from the fixed stars, but also holds that they correctly discriminated between the pole of the equator and the pole of the ecliptic, and correctly determined and characteristically named both the tropic of Cancer and the tropic of Capricorn. Add to this the long acknowledged fact that they practised, if they did not originate, the division of the celestial equator into its three hundred and sixty degrees for longitudinal reckonings, and the division of the transverse great circles into their three hundred and sixty degrees for latitudinal measurements, and it must be conceded that they possessed a remarkably advanced scientific conception of the starry heavens.

In constructing the Babylonian earth Jensen is less successful. Following earlier writers he makes it a hemisphere hollow underneath, resting upon, and as to its hollow filled by, the waters of a world-ocean which fills all space except that comparatively small portion between the lower surface of the hollow hemispherical earth and the upper surface of the solid over-arching vault of heaven. With this conception of the relation of the world-ocean to earth and heaven, he naturally can find no place for Du-azag, the "place of the convocation of the gods," but an imaginary cavern in the thin crust of the hemispherical earth. Moreover, he has no place for Hades but another imaginary cavern in the same crust; and strangely enough he places his Hades cavern far above the cavern assigned to the gods.

Many of Jensen's individual facts and conclusions conflict with his total grouping and suggest a truer interpretation. For example, what he says (page 255 and following) of the heavenward aspiring "Mountain of the World" with seven zones or stages, would give us for the upper terrestrial hemisphere a conception strikingly like the Hindu one of Su-Meru (Paradise Found, p. 252). But on page 257 Jensen correctly states that the Babylonian Hades, with its seven regions separated by seven circular walls with gates, was the "counterpart" of the above described mount of seven stages or terraces; and the moment we put these two counterparts together base to base, we get not one hollow hemisphere, but a solid sphere whose upper half is the lighted abode of the living and whose under half is the dark and gloomy abode of the dead.

In his "Dawn of Civilization," p. 543, Maspero pictorially represents Jensen's interpretation with slight modifications that can hardly be called

improvements. Maspero does not attempt to locate either the abode of the dead, or Du-azag. His account of the daily movement of the sun from east to west is even inconsistent with itself. One remark, however, bears with striking force on the theory of the north-polar origin of the human race. Speaking of the cosmology of the Chaldæans, he says: "The general resemblance of their theory of the universe to the Egyptian theory leads me to believe *that they, no less than the Egyptians, for a long time believed that the sun and moon revolved round the earth in a horizontal plane.*" Page 544. Compare "Paradise Found," *passim*.

QU. 15. — What appear to have been their anthropological conceptions?

ANSWER. — The anthropology of the Babylonians and Assyrians deserves a more careful treatment than it has yet received. Indeed, no master of the cuneiform texts seems as yet to have attempted a formal study, however brief, on this subject. A few important points, however, seem certain:

1. That in the most ancient Chaldæan thought the human race was conceived of as descended from a single pair.

2. That the primordial human pair was created by the same aboriginal divine power which created all the gods that ever began to be. The priests of Babylon ascribed this origination of gods and men to Bel-Merodach, their supreme god. The older priests of Eridu gave this honor to Hea. (Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, p. 55.) But compare, also, page 397, where Istar represents herself as the mother of men.

3. The cylinder which George Smith interpreted as portraying the first sin affords great probability that the ancient Chaldæans had the tradition of the fall of the first human pair in substantially the same form as that given in Genesis. See Ragozin, *Chaldæa*, pp. 265, 266. Or better, Boscawen, *The Bible and the Monuments*, p. 91.

4. That they knew the distressing consciousness of sin, and believed in the possibility of pardon, is touchingly evident from the ancient penitential Psalms such as that beginning, "O my Lord, my great transgression, my many sins! O my God, my great transgression, my many sins!" Records of the Past, First Series, vol. vii, p. 151.

5. The firm faith of the Babylonians and Assyrians in immortality and in the reception of the good into heaven, appears in many of the deciphered monuments. The following is Fox Talbot's translation of a verse from what appears to have been a national hymn of Assyria, answering perhaps to England's "God Save the Queen":

"May he attain to grey hairs

"And old age;

"And after the life of these days,

"In the feasts of the silver mountain, — the heavenly courts,

“ The abode of blessedness,
“ And in the light
“ Of the happy fields,
“ May he dwell, a life
“ Eternal, holy,
“ In the presence
“ Of the gods
“ That inhabit Assyria.”

Records of the Past, first series, vol. iii, p. 133. The translator adds in a note, “ There is a fine inscription not yet fully translated, describing the soul in heaven clothed with a white radiant garment, seated in the company of the blessed, and fed by the gods themselves with celestial food.”

For later and more critical statements under this head, see Jeremias, *Die Babylonisch-Assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*. Leipzig, 1887.

QU. 16. — Illustrate by extracts from the original texts, the morals of the Babylonians and Assyrians.

QU. 17 — What light has cuneiform study thrown upon the Bible, and upon the significance of this earliest of ethnic faiths for the World-religion?

PARTIAL ANSWER. — The Babylonian and Assyrian remains have disclosed to us a great variety of traditions, beliefs and historic records strikingly confirmatory of the Old Testament representation of primeval history. We now know from sources entirely independent of the Bible that this great people of the two rivers believed in earliest times in a supreme and almighty God of heaven; in angels good and bad; also in the great serpent or dragon, the embodiment and symbol at once of subtle intelligence and an evil will; in a creation of the universe in six successive days; in a degeneracy if not a fall of man; in a civilized antediluvian world governed by ten successive kings, who thus answer to the ten patriarchs between Adam and Noah; in a great and general prevalence of sin and violence under the later of these kings; in a determination of the gods to destroy the wicked world; in a warning to the tenth king to build an ark and save himself, his family, and pairs of all animals; in a deluge whose minute details in many cases corresponded to the Mosaic account; in a resettlement of the rescued family in the land of Shinar; and in the attempted but divinely frustrated plan of building a tower to reach to heaven. We know that one of their most sacred symbols was a “a tree of life,” and on one very ancient cylinder we find this tree depicted with a man upon one side and a woman upon the other, both stretching out their hands to pluck the fruit of the tree, while back of and above the woman stands a serpent precisely as in a Christian picture of the Fall (See Smith, *Chaldæan Genesis*, p. 91. And for latest evidences, Boscawen, *The Bible and the Monuments*.) We know that their portal-guarding lions and bulls, winged and human-headed, possessed symbolical significance strikingly like that of the Cherubim posted at the closed gates of forfeited Eden (Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, ch. iii). We know that they believed in the possibility of

such translations as Enoch's, for they believed that the patriarchal survivor of the flood was thus translated. They believed that after the flood the God of heaven made a covenant with the rescued family, very much as we read in Genesis. They not only abstained from work the seventh day, but believed that the Sabbatic institution, which they observed on the seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-eighth day of each month, together with a midmonth extra on the nineteenth, dated from the creation. Their doctrine and practice of sacrifices, animal and other, corresponds with Old Testament representations of the same rite among the patriarchs. In short, their religious beliefs, traditions, and usages were precisely what Old Testament history would lead us to expect.

In like manner these recovered tablets have confirmed and illustrated a number of the events of secular history, international and other, recorded in the Old Testament. Several of the kings of Israel and of Judah are mentioned by name. The Old Testament has told us that Menahem, king of Israel, and Ahaz, king of Judah, were both tributary to Tiglath Pileser; the monuments says the same. The Old Testament chronology of the fall of Samaria exactly tallies with the date as fixed by Assyrian annals. Sennacherib tells of the same story of the ransom of Jerusalem by Hezekiah as that which we read in 2 Kings xviii. 13-16. In 1887 the Biblical account of his death and the succession of Esar-haddon was precisely confirmed by the Babylonian tablets. Even that exceedingly ancient invasion of Canaan by Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Arioch, king of Ellaser, and Tidal, king of nations, recorded in Genesis xiv, is so far confirmed that we have found an Elamite dynasty of that age whose royal names were compounded in the same way as Chedorlaomer's. (Kudur, signifying servant, with the name of a national divinity, thus: Kudur-mabuk or mabog, or, as some have given it, Kudur-Nahundi.) Furthermore, it is found that Lagamar, corresponding to the Semitic Laomer, was an Elamite goddess; that Kudur-mabuk, having conquered Babylon, extended his power to Canaan; that he was styled Conqueror of the West, and that the name of his son Eri-Aku would be in the Semitic the Biblical Arioch.

Rabbinical and Mohammedan traditions ascribe the rapid and universal degeneration of true religion among the early post-diluvian inhabitants of Chaldæa largely to the influence of Nimrod. See Josephus, *Antiquities*, book I, ch. iv, sec. 1-3. Also Weil's *Biblical Legends*, pp. 68-79. Most Christian writers have taken the same view. Prof. H. A. H. Ebrard, however, ascribes this corruption to the Semites. For his representation see his *Christian Apologetics*, sec. 249-254.

Whatever may be thought of this view of Nimrod, and Ebrard does not attempt to argue the point, there can be little doubt as to the correctness of the opinion that in the Assyrian and Babylonian religion we have something different from ordinary unsophisticated pagan ignorance and aspiration. In their earliest period no other ancient nation appears to have enjoyed so much

of true religious light and knowledge; no other had a clearer, if so clear a sense of moral and religious duty, yet no other in the ancient world except the West Semites, whose Baal and Astarte worship was borrowed from the Babylonians, ever equalled this in undermining the fundamental morality of the family, and making promiscuous sexual intercourse an obligatory form of divine worship. The chief temple of Babylon was a national house of assignation. Every woman in the empire was required at least once in her lifetime to visit this temple of harlotry and yield herself to the first man who chose her out of the waiting line and led her away to the chambers consecrated to unholy rites. The effect upon the condition of both men and women was what might be anticipated. The maidens of the country became the merest merchandise. Great annual sales were held where they were sold off to the highest bidder. Later, as Herodotus assures us from personal knowledge, the poorer people throughout the country sought to save their virgins from a worse future by bringing them up to be courtesans by profession. Even this pagan Greek saw that here mere paganism was outdone, and in describing the deification of the lust of the flesh which he witnessed in Babylon he branded it as *αἰσχιστος*. — ‘superlatively shameful.’ Herodotus, book I, sec. 196–199. Only in this connection can we understand that wonderful vision of St. John in the Apocalypse, ch. xvii. 1–xix. 3; as also many a dark and perhaps repulsive, but to the Jews plain and needful allusion in the Old-Testament prophecies. See e. g. Nahum iii. 4–6; Ez. xvi. 16–63; Is. xlvi. 8–15; also Ez. xxiii. and similiar passages.

QU. 18. — Fill not less than three pages with original matter on one of the following subjects: (1) The Discovery at Tell-el-Amarna. (2) History and Literature of the Akkad and Sumir problem. (3) What may be learned from the inscription of Singashid of Erech, circa 2600 B.C. (Records of the Past, vol. i). (4) Earliest known contacts of Chaldæo-Assyria with Egypt (R. P. vol iii, 36). (5) Earliest known contacts with the Greeks. (6) The genealogical connections, the attributes and functions of Merodach at the time of his greatest prominence (Sayce, Lect. vii, and hymns to Merodach in the appendix). (7) The Chief Temple at Babylon and our sources of information respecting it. (8) Sacred plants, trees, and animals among this people. (9) Kinds of prayer, illustrated from the hymns of this religion. (10) Catalogue of gods named in Tiglath Pileser’s Inscription, with their attributes and titles. (11) Scientific attainments of the Chaldæo-Assyrians. (12) Influence of the Babylonians and Assyrians upon the world’s culture.

SPECIMEN STUDIES.

II.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS HISTORICALLY,
SYSTEMATICALLY AND PHILOSOPHICALLY CONSIDERED.

Books of Reference.—For original texts see Records of the Past First Series, vols. ii, iv, vi, viii, x, xii, [3049.73]. Second Series *passim*. — The Book of the Dead, ed. by Budge, Lond. 1894 [*Cab. 30.19.1]. Renouf's translation in Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Archæol. vols. xiv ff. There is an older English translation by Birch in vol. v of Bunsen's Egypt's Place in Universal History [5046.58]. Davis's edition (Putnam's Sons, N. Y., 1895) is a translation of a translation (Pierret's), though the original texts are given. — The Papyrus Prisse, "the oldest Book in the world," fragments from an ethical work by Kakimna of the Third Dynasty and the precepts of Pthah-hotep of the Fifth Dynasty. French version by Viray [5053.63]. English translation from the French by Howard Osgood in the Bibliotheca Sacra for October, 1888, with additions from the maxims of Ani. A later translation of the precepts of Pthah-hotep is given in Records of the Past, new series, vol. iii, pp. 1-35.

The best of English treatises on this religion are Renouf, Religion of Ancient Egypt [5483.52], and Tiele, History of Egyptian Religion, [3026.58]. — The best of German expositions are, Von Strauss and Tornay, Der Altägyptischer Glaube, 1891, 2 vols. [3493.72], and Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter, 1885, 2 vols. [3490a.74]. — The latest and best general history of the Egyptian people is that now appearing from the pens of W. M. Flinders-Petrie and others, vol. i, N. Y., 1895 [3059.175]. The following histories, however, are still valuable, to wit, that by Brugsch, 1881 [5072.56]; by Geo. Rawlinson, 1882 [5072.57]; by Duncker, 1878 [2213.56]. On Egyptian art, manners and customs, see Maspero's Archæology, 1887; Wilkinson's manners and customs, 2d ed. [3059.65]; and Maspero's Dawn of Civilization, 1895 [3052.141]; Erman, Life in Ancient Egypt 1894 [3042.135]. — For the latest explorations and

discoveries see the Archæological Reports and Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Fund, London. — The wealth of works on Egyptology in the Public Library was well presented in the Library Bulletin for October, 1893. Very convenient, as the shelf-numbers are given. — In Jastrow's series of Handbooks on the History of religion, one on the Religion of Egypt, by Mrs. Cornelius Stevenson of Philadelphia, is announced for publication in 1897.

1. To what has the land of Egypt been likened? See map in Martin Brimmer's *Three Essays on Egyptian History, Religion and Art*. Boston, 1892.

2. In what particulars is the river Nile unique?

3. Whence came the founders of Egyptian civilization according to Maspero? See *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 45. Whence according to Flinders-Petrie? *History of Egypt*, vol. i, pp. 14, 141.

4. From Records of the Past, vol. ii, p. 204, give Mariette's Scheme of Egyptian Chronology.

Old Empire (Dynasties I–XI)	years
Middle Empire (Dynasties XII–XIV)	“
Shepherd Kings (Dynasties XV–XVII)	“
New Empire (Dynasties XVIII–XXX)	“
Total	“

How nearly does Mr. Petrie's agree with this? See his History.

5. Under which of the dynasties does civilization appear to have reached its highest perfection?

6. Of all the gods of the Egyptians, which was the oldest?

In answering this question we must not of necessity expect to find him one of the most prominent or popular of their great gods in historic times. Zeus among the Greeks was called the "Father of gods and men," yet in Greek thought he was but the grandson of the eldest god. So too with the Latins, Jupiter was not the first divine being. In fact, in Egypt the eldest god was so far forgotten that in forty lists of gods preserved to us by the monuments, he is mentioned but four times, and in each case at the very end of the list. The name of this god was Nu, or as sometimes anciently written Nun. From all the texts in which it occurs it is plain that the term designated the unoriginated and righteous God of heaven. Victor Von Strauss in his recent work reviews these texts, and concludes as follows: "According to these testimonies there is no doubt that in Nu there has been preserved a reminiscence of that universal Heaven-god who once belonged to undivided Humanity, and that for the Egyptians also there was a time when they had as yet this God alone." One striking inscription by Seti I, of the 19th Dynasty, expressly calls him "the oldest god." Here, therefore, was a form of monotheism antedating all the polytheism of the later ages.

This name is of curious interest because of its resemblance to Anu, the oldest heaven-god of the Babylonians and Assyrians. See Hommel, *Babylonischer Ursprung der Aegyptischen Kultur* [3053.154]. It may be that this primordial Nu was the root of the Egyptian word for god, *Nûter*, pl. *Nûtriû*. It is also noteworthy that the Egyptians called the chief city of the gods in their heavenly world Anu. In their sacred language they gave the same name to the earthly counterpart or representation of this celestial city, i. e. to Heliopolis. On, the Hebrew name for Heliopolis, came from the sacred name in Egyptian by dropping the final vowel and broadening the A to O. As the Hebrews also had a heavenly as well as a secondary earthly city, *Zi-on*, it is not impossible that in this sacred name we have a terminal element old enough to have belonged to human speech before the far-off ancestors of both the Semites and Egyptians lost the power of understanding each other. (*Zi* = of 'spirit' or 'life.' *On* = 'the divine abode.')

7. Which appear to have been the oldest of the gods which succeeded Nu?

ANSWER. The *paûit nûtirû*, or first divine Ennead, consisting of Shu and Tefnut, Seb and Nut, Usiri (Osiris) and Usit (Isis), Set and Nebt'hat (Nephthys), and lastly Har or Hor (Horus). These nine constitute a family group independent of all local and provincial influences, and evidently of central significance in the pantheon presented in historic times. They are found in thirty-two of the ancient lists of gods, and always in the same order, however numerous or variant the local or provincial divine names which in those lists may precede or follow. The most natural explanation of this is that the Ennead represents the pantheon of the ancestors of the historic Egyptians at a time antedating the division of the country into nomes, and the dispersion of the people into separate nome-populations with peculiar local and provincial divinities and cults.

8. Under what influence chiefly does the primeval monotheism of this people appear to have given place to the polytheism of the Ennead-worshippers?

ANSWER. Under the influence of a naïve cosmogonical and anthropogonical speculation. As the modern scientist distinguishes and gives names to as many distinct "forces" as he may find necessary to explain the operations he sees in the world of nature and in the world of man, so the primitive myth-makers distinguished and named divine agents — as many and as strong as seemed needful for the explanation of the obvious facts. And as the "forces" of the modern scientists are only forms of the one persistent and everywhere present cosmic force, so the divine agents of the early myth-makers were little more than individualized forms or expressions of the one omnipresent, beginningless and endless Cosmic Agent. Thus the scientific impulse underlay the earliest myth-making, even as the mythopœic tendency is even now not unfrequently seen in the wholly fanciful theorizings of some cultivators of natural science. Thus, too, it is easy to understand how the so-called "equivalence of forces" in science has in many mythologies, but especially in the Egyptian, a kind of counterpart which one is tempted to call an "equivalence of divinities." The temporary assumption of the form of Hat-hor by the "Divine Eye" in the legend of the "Destruction of Men," is an illustration in point. At Denderah the

same goddess was called Isis, at Memphis, Sechet, at Saïs, Neith, at Bubastis, Bast, etc., etc.

9. Illustrate more fully the foregoing account of the origin of Egyptian polytheism.

Every ancient people, at the beginning of its mythologizing period, found itself living upon the verdant earth beneath the vaulted sky. It had of course to form for itself some artless conception of the origin of these, — some idea of the superhuman power by which the heaven was lifted and sustained, — some idea of the superhuman force by which the verdant earth called forth and perpetually renewed its vestment of trees and grains and grasses. Of course heaven was high ; no man, no being less than a god, could be its upraiser and supporter. The Egyptians pictured such a god as standing on the green earth and sustaining the starry heaven upon his upstretched hands above his head. They called this far-off prototype of Atlas, this heaven-supporter, Shu. (See pictures of him in Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 99, 127, 129, 169.) And who but a gentle goddess could sustain the tender verdure of the boundless earth? No merely human power could do it. And who could the gentle goddess be but the sweet dew or the fructifying shower which comes down from heaven? What would a modern poet have called her? Heaven-moisture? That is precisely what the ancient prehistoric Egyptians did when they named her Tefnut : *tef* signifying “moisture,” and *nut*, “heaven.” So it came to pass that in the primordial Egyptian polytheism Shu and Tefnut were the first divine pair. In some texts Shu seems to have been known by the title Anhur, which von Strauss translates “Bringer (?) of the height of heaven.” The form “Anhur-Shu” often occurs. He is given a wonderful “lance,” on which he causes the heavens to revolve and with which he is said to rule them. For a curious parallel see *Paradise Found*, pp. 350–358. Anhur was patron of Tini (This or Thinis near Abydos) before Menes, who was of the royal house of Tini, had founded Memphis and the earliest Egyptian Empire.

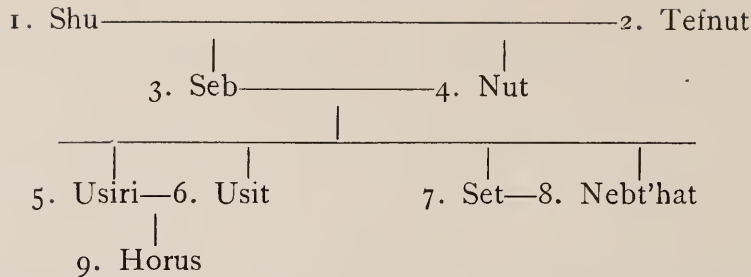
But if heaven thus first became heaven by being uplifted by Shu and supplied with vapors by Tefnut, it was an easy and natural step to say that Nut (heaven) was the daughter of Shu and Tefnut. This step the ancient Egyptians took. But as Seb, that is, the earth, is the only natural counterpart of heaven, Seb, and Nut became the second divine pair. From these proceeded the remainder of the nine great gods, on

which account the pair were often styled "Father and Mother of the gods." As to their names, Nut is simply the feminine form of the word Nu, the name, as we saw, of the one original heaven-god who preceded the whole polytheistic brood. Seb is read by Burgsh *Qeb*, the word seems to mean something "curved" or "round." As the initial sign of his name was a "goose," his name was of often pictorially expressed in inscriptions by depicting a goose. Hence also in poetic phrase he is called "The great Cackler." Sometimes for the same reason the earth is called his "egg," an expression which like many others shows that even then the earth was conceived to be of spherical or spheroidal form.

But thus far we have no light upon the origin of Man. Whence must this godlike rational being be thought to have come? Here ancient Egyptian mythology, like several others, seems to have made a discrimination very creditable to its authors. It appears to have assumed that the origination of wild men, men destitute of rational ideas and modes of living, presented no serious problem. These could be considered as biological forms produced by nature's overflowing and spontaneous life, like the animals which they so much resemble. But a rational and kingly man, the first civilizer of these lawless hordes, the introducer of well-ordered government and pure morals—this is a different, a higher being, one so godlike in nature and work that, though human in form, his origin cannot have been less than divine. The first such beneficent and kingly man of which the mythology of the Egyptians told them was Usiri, son of Set. His sister and spouse was Usit. Following the Greeks we commonly write them Osiris and Isis. Their son was Horus the Elder. To the Egyptians, then, Usiri, though of divine parentage, was the first full-fledged normal man. To them he was what Yama was to the ancestors of the Hindus and Yima to the ancestors of the Persians. Moreover, as Yama became Lord of the dead to the Hindus, and Yima to the Persians, so to the Egyptians, Osiris, the first of normal rational men, became the just and righteous Lord of Amenti, the world of departed spirits.

Two further names alone remain of nine. These are Set and Nebt'hat, brother and sister to Usiri and Usit. Nebt'hat is more familiar in the Greek spelling Nephthys. Set, originally a good divinity, became at a later time an evil one, and figures as such even in the myth of Osiris in the oldest form known to us. See Renouf, pp. 119, 120.

Recapitulating then the foregoing, and placing the members of the Ennead in their due genealogical relations, we obtain the following easily-remembered table, to wit:—



(Maspero writes: 2. Tefnuit, 3. Sibû, 4. Nuit, 7. Sît, and 8. Nebt-hait.)

It is interesting to observe that we have no proof that any temple or shrine was ever dedicated to the god Nu, or to any one of the first four of this group of nine. Every nome and great city of Egypt had its special patron divinities, often a triad or ennead of them, but among all the names of these one never finds Nu or any of the four just indicated. It would seem as if Osiris was the first of the gods sufficiently near to men in nature and sympathy to call forth the worship of the Egyptians. He, as the first great law-giver among men, and as the righteous judge of every soul as it enters the world of the dead, became and remained the most permanently and uniformly conspicuous of all the divinities revered upon the shores of the Nile. To each of the members of his family, shrines were early dedicated and divine honors paid. To his grandson Horus these early honors were so abundant that the Egyptians of the historic ages, looking back to the prehistoric period, were accustomed to call it the period of the "Horus worshippers." According to some, the immemorial Sphinx, possibly the oldest, certainly the vastest and noblest of all the divine symbols ever shaped by human hand, is a relic of this prehistoric Horus-worship—a sublime embodiment of its serenity, power and mystery.

10. What two other important gods found universal recognition before the beginning of the historic period?

Answer. Ra the sun-god and T'hut, in Hellenized form Thoth, the moon-god (Renouf writes it Tehuti). In the ancient lists which include these divine names, Ra usually precedes the nine gods, while Thoth follows next after them. Sometimes they were called "the eyes of Horus," in which case Horus would seem to be a form or personation of the heaven-god. The oldest and most splendid seat of Ra-worship was at Heliopolis. Its name *Pi-ra*, "City of Ra," reminds one o

the sacred name of ancient Babylon, *Ka-ra*, "Gate of God." See above, p. 00 Ra, however, had various forms with corresponding names, such as Tum, Ra-tum, Nefertum, Ra-harmakhis, Chepra or Cheprer, Khopri, Mentu, and perhaps Sebek. These names appear originally to have designated the sun in different positions or relations ("I am called Khopri in the morning, Ra at noon, and Tum in the evening"). Though originally simply a sun-god he was early developed into a much more commanding figure, a god to whom the creation of the world, and even of all the gods except Nu, was reverently ascribed. His prominence in the theology and worship of historic times seems hardly consistent with the curious legend relating to his abdication and retirement before the inauguration of the reign of Shu. (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 160-169.) Here he figures as the god of the long-lost Golden Age of the world. Often he was pantheistically conceived of as the divine essence of other great gods, who accordingly, to express this, were given his name in addition to their own, as, e. g., Amen became Amen-ra; Khem, Khem-ra, etc.

On Thoth see Renouf, pp. 120, 121.

11. In what goddess have we an illustration of the polytheistic tendency to multiply divinities by the hypostasizing of a title? (See above, p. 106.)

Answer. Hat-hor. The name signifies "house of Horus." As in one of the oldest of the pyramid inscriptions Horus is spoken of as "son of Hat-hor," it is almost certain that the name originally applied as a title to Usit, his mother. Its naturalness in that application is entirely apparent, yet as under this name its bearer was constantly and pre-eminently associated with Horus, it was equally inevitable that she should in time come to be thought of as a goddess distinct from Usit and conjugally paired with Horus. In some passages she seems to be identified with the blue sky and hardly distinguishable from Nut. In later times there came to be "seven Hat-hors," and they corresponded very closely to the fates in Greek mythology. A cow or a female figure with a cow's head was the symbol of each. Hence the fitness of the imagery of Pharaoh's dream, the seven lean kine and the seven fat kine for the fated years of famine and plenty.

12. What evidences of monotheism in the Egyptian religion are given by Renouf? See pp. 95-107, also 225.

13. How does the so-called "Oldest Book in the World" speak of God? See Professor Osgood in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for October, 1888.

14. What striking admission touching this matter is made by Tiele?

Answer. That "the very oldest monuments" give evidence that "there existed a full conviction of the unity of the Deity even when he is called by various names"; and that this in Egypt "was no new doctrine resulting from later theological speculations." See *Hist. of the Egyptian Religion*, 1882, p. 82. This admission is all the weightier in view of what five years earlier he had said in sections 30 and 31 of his *Outlines of the History of Religion*.

15. What remarkable religious movement was inaugurated by Amenhotep IV (Khu-enaten), and how have scholars attempted to explain it? Tiele, pp. 161-165, and others.

16. What are the difficulties and inconsistencies of Maspero's successive accounts of the cosmology of the Egyptians? Compare articles in *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*, tom. xv-xviii. *Les Contes Populaires*, pp. lxi-lxiii.—*Egyptian Souls and their Worlds*, in *New Princeton Review*, July, 1888.—*The Dawn*

of Civilization, pp. 16 ff.— *Etudes de Mythologie et Archéologie Egyptiennes* [3052.132]. Answer may be in the form of a class essay.

17. Did the Egyptians consider all men descended from a single pair?

Answer. No decisive evidence for or against such a belief has been found in the texts thus far deciphered.

18. Are there any traces of a tradition of the Fall of Man or of the Deluge? See Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, pp. 443-453; Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 164 ff. Brugsch, *Die neue Weltordnung nach Vernichtung des sündigen Menschengeschlechtes*. [5054.56]

19. In Egyptian theology, how were individual men to be saved from sin and its punishment?

20. Describe the Egyptian picture of the weighing of the soul at the final Judgment, naming the attendant personages, etc. Contrast the Psychostasia in Æschylus.

21. Of what divinities and what doctrines have you found representations in the Egyptian department of the Museum of Fine Arts?

22. What was the Egyptian conception of the origin and significance of animal sacrifice? Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, pp. 167, 168.

23. With what worthy ideas and influences does Tiele credit the Egyptian religion in the last chapter of his book thereon?

24. Investigate and to the extent of not less than three pages, report upon one of the following topics: (1) The Orientations of Egyptian Temples (see Lockyer's Dawn of Astronomy). (2) Theories and Facts relating to the Great Pyramid. (3) The Science of the Ancient Egyptians. (4) Their Arts. (5) Symbolism in Egyptian religion. (6) Interpretations of the Phœnix myth. (7) The Sphinx; opinions of professed Egyptologists respecting its age and significance. (8) Mosaism and the Egyptian religion; likenesses and differences. (9) Historic Contacts and Relationships of the Israelites and Egyptians. (10) The Decline and Fall of Egyptian religion.

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7. *Dates of absence from class exercises, if any :*
8. *Difficulties, or questions for explanation in class :*

 *Sign in proper blank on the reverse, and pass in folded.*

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT

OF

No.

FORTNIGHTLY REPORT.

For the fortnight closing with this date :

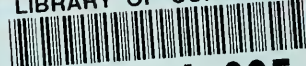
1. *Date :*
2. *Authors carefully read :*
3. *Number of pages in all :*
4. *Other authorities consulted :*
5. *Written work in this course :*
6. *Hours spent in work upon the course exclusive of class hours :*
7. *Dates of absence from class exercises, if any :*
8. *Difficulties, or questions for explanation in class :*

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